FBIS DAILY REPORT

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BUREAUCRATISM, TECHNOCRATISM HAMPER INNOVATION

AU152149 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 9 Jan 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Let us Combat Manifestations of Bureaucratism and Technocratism That Stand in the Way of Innovation"]

[Excerpts] The movement for innovation among our working people, workers, specialists, rationalizers and inventors, outstanding farm workers, livestock raisers and cadres, has become a distinctive sign of our times.

But, alongside its achievements, as was emphasized at the 13th AWP Central Committee plenum, there are in some cases in the movement for innovation signs of manifestations of bureaucratism and technocratism, which are hampering the movement. Talking about this at the Shkoder District conference of innovators and rationalizers, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed: "To bureaucrats, innovators are maniacs; they cause work and worry, and disturb the peace and quiet and routine of ordinary desultory labor. So they are always in open or concealed conflict with innovators, keeping them idle, putting them off, placing all kinds of obstacles in their path, and trying to annoy them and wear them down, to make them give up."

In daily life we come across cases where the innovative movement in an enterprise or agricultural cooperative is managed in a bureaucratic manner, tied up with one or two persons who conceive the movement as nothing but a collection of a few bits of paper that does nothing but add to administrative correspondence. Such bureaucratic attitudes were also exposed recently when the trade union organizations, under the leadership of the party organizations, undertook a concrete campaign to fight against them. As we saw at the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania, the campaign uncovered thousands of suggestions that had lain in desk drawers, and exposed bureaucratic delays lasting years among administrative workers. For example, at the Elbasan "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, where there are 80 groups and 12 scientific councils, only 18 suggestions were reported, although in fact 400 others had gathered the dust of oblivion in bureaucratic files. In the District of Shkoder about 1,400 suggestions were incorporated at once in the draft 1986 plan targets. In Vlore 1,543 suggestions were brought forward. Similar cases occurred in the Districts of Tirana, Gjirokaster, and Fier.

There has been no lack of cases where delays and bureaucratic practices have hampered the implementation of workers' suggestions.

Manifestations of technocracy also damaged the movement for innovation by making a fetish of technology and science, and by being indifferent to the creative work of the masses. "Workers cannot deal with complicated matters of production and science," they think. Considering themselves very knowledgeable and educated, with great scientific and technical experience, as Ramiz Alia made clear, they try to create a great gulf between themselves and workers, and to create an intellectual "elite" with "rare abilities." The technocrat suffers from a diseased sense of pride, an intellectualist arrogance, a false sense of superiority, which makes him hinder the realization of tasks, brings him to prejudiced nihilistic attitudes toward workers' proposals and suggestions, thus delaying their implementation as long as possible. And all this he justifies in the name of "science" and "progress."

Party organs and organizations and, under their leadership, the mass organizations and organs of the state and the economy have fought and continue to fight strongly against technocratic attitudes. These have been evident, for instance, in the oil sector, in the shape of the fetishism about the roles and opinions of specialists and an underestimation of the creative and innovative opinions of workers. Bureaucratic concepts and attitudes have been encountered in some other sectors. In some cases, though rare-1 , an even more harmful phenomenon has been evident:

the transplantation of technical language into a party or mass organization.

These phenomena must be stopped; otherwise the movement for innovation will be seriously damaged. The party teaches us, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed, to combat technocracy, but also to understand technocracy, so as not to fall into this serious theoretical and practical error -- since technocracy manifests itself in the form of the rule of those who have technical resources in their hands, and also, obviously, technical abilities.

FURTHER ON REPUBLIC DAY PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY SESSION

Miska Address

AU121552 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 12 Jan 86

[Report on speech by AWP Politburo member Pali Miska at 11 January People's Assembly meeting in Tirana devoted to 40th anniversary of proclamation of republic]

[Text] Tirana, January 11 (ATA) -- This solemn meeting of the People's Assembly is devoted to the glorious 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic, Comrade Pali Miska said among others.

On this marked jubilee we commemorate and honour with great respect the outstanding and unforgettable leader of the party and people, the architect of Socialist Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Our party and people are grateful to this legendary leader, who, with wisdom, rare farsightedness, led them in the struggle for national liberation, the triumph of the people's revolution and the construction of socialism.

We do not have Comrade Enver Hoxha among us in this anniversary of the republic, but we have his monumental deed of incalculable values for the present generations and those to come, we have the People's Socialist Republic of Albania raised in the highest peaks of social progress and with clear perspectives for a more brilliant future. Our people are right to be proud of the great successes Socialist Albania has attained and of their great son, who stood for nearly half a century in the van of the titanic struggle for the construction and development of the new Albania.

After speaking of the great antifascist national liberation war of our people, led with wisdom by the party and its most important moments which led to January 11, 1946, Comrade Pali Miska said:

That which was decided by the people through the rifle was the high time to be sanctioned with their free, direct, equal, secret and general voting. The entire people, in the north and in the south, responding to the appeal of the party and front voted en masse for the People's Republic on December 2, 1945.

In this way the struggle and the efforts of the Albanian people led by the party for the setting up of a new social order and the new Albanian state assumed the proper juridical form.

Four decades have gone by since those unforgettable days and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has traversed a glorious road and has undergone gigantic revolutionary transformations which have completely changed the view of the country.

The development of our country is characterized by a complete economic and political stability. We have a developed multibranched industry which advances at rapid rates. Our industry guarantees the independent development of the economy self-reliantly, without holding out begging hand to anyone, it fulfils the fundamental needs of the people, the economy in general and the defence. The agriculture has made a great progress, too.

We have an advanced intensive agriculture, which is characterized by high yields.

Therates of our economic and cultural development bear no comparison with the past. In 1985, as against 40 years ago, the year of the proclamation of the republic, the social product increased 21 times, the overall industrial production 159 times and the total agricultural production 5.3 times. Over this period, the rise of the social product has been 7.8 times higher than the population growth.

The Albanian art, culture, literature and science have also assumed an unprecedented development. One out of three inhabitants attends studies.

The approval of the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is a significant event in the entire 40 year long development of the country. It is the most progressive and democratic constitution in the world, the Constitution of the triumphant socialism, an act of major theoretical and practical importance which constitutes the juridical basis of the ceaseless socialist construction of our country. Our Constitution and its laws, fully based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and our creative revolutionary experience, have led to the further strengthening of our juridicial order, of the entire system of the dictatorship of proletariat. Today the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has a strong, unshakable international position. It enjoys a high authority and prestige, it is honoured and respected everywhere in the world. The number of its friends and wellwishers increases every day.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always opposed resolutely the aggressive and expansionist policy of American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. It has been and remains an irreconcilable fighter of the reactionary, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies. It has no and will have no relations of any kind with the United States of America and the Soviet Union, which bear the main responsibility for the very dangerous situation created in the world today, for all the sufferings and miseries of the mankind.

The solidarity, support and sympathy of our People's Socialist Republic of Albania has been and will always be for those struggling for freedom and national independence, for those demanding social justice and real democracy, those who oppose oppression and exploitation, who are for peace and against war, those who devote their efforts to the general progress and emancipation of the mankind.

Our people is a reliable friend and supporter of all the progressive forces throughout the world. The proletarian internationalism and the solidarity with these forces characterize the entire foreign policy of our socialist state.

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania have publicly declared and proved with facts that it is for good relations with the other countries on the basis of the principles of equality, the observation of the sovereignty and territory integrity, the non-interference in the internal affairs of each other, and mutual benefit. This is clearly proved by the diplomatic relations it has established with the majority of the countries of the world, this is proved by the trade exchanges which have been constantly expanded, by the cultural contacts which are being intensified uninterruptedly. This incontestable reality serves to expose and render invalid all the accusations of our enemies that allegedly Albania pursues an "autarkic policy, closed in itself".

The People's Socialist Republic of Albania rigorously adheres to the policy of good neighbourliness with the neighbouring countries. It has given the neighbouring peoples the full guaranty that no evil will ever come to them from its territory, because we wish them only well.

At the same time, our people and their government have not allowed and will never allow anyone to violate and imperil in the slightest their freedom, independence and national sovereignty, to trample them underfoot or denigrate them under whatever pretext or by any means. We wish that the relations of our country with the neighbouring countries always proceed on a positive course.

As for Albania, it will never lack the good will and spare its constructive efforts in this direction, naturally when the other sides, too, will have the predisposition to establish equal relations fully based on the mutual observation of the sovereignty, on the sincere friendship and the good neighbourliness.

The foreign policy of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is the policy worked out and implemented by our dear and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the policy which has been declared and approved in the party congresses. Those who dream of and expect changes in our policy do so in vain. Comrade Ramiz Alia has declared that "Albania neigher opens nor closes. It will march on the road it has followed so far, the road which has guaranteed the freedom and independence, the defence of socialism, the good name in the world".

Being guided in every step by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, making a profound analysis of the regressive process of the political, social and economic degeneration in the revisionist countries, the Party of Labour of Albania has drawn a number of important lessons of national and international value, and has summed up and generalized the experience of the triumphant socialism in Albania. This experience is the best testimony that the degeneration of the proletarian state power and the return to capitalism are not a fatality. The dictatorship of the proletariat lives on, it acts and is vigilant in Socialist Albania.

The socialist democracy in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania is extended and perfected every day, Comrade Pali Miska said further on. It pervades the entire social life, the entire structure of our socialist state. The working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people in our country exert their power through the representative organs, by participating directly in the running of the country, taking an active part in the management of the economy, in the drafting of the laws, in the supervision of all organs of the state power. The democracy in our country is not a slogan to deceive the masses, as it is in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, but it finds its application in practice. There are no two state powers in our country, one formal and the other real, effective. The power here is a unique state power; it emerges from the working people and belongs to them.

A distinguishing, fundamental feature of our people's power is its close ties with the masses. The people's power has guaranteed the working people of the great right of having their say in complete freedom on every important economic, political and social problem and their opinion is taken into consideration. Complete freedom for the working masses exists in Socialist Albania in the most complete and genuine democratic forms. The emancipation of all the strata of our society is indissolubly linked with the people's power, therefore, the people keep it as the apple of their eye. The more forward our revolution goes, the more the ties of the party and power with the people are strengthened and steeled. The amnesty declared by the Presidium of the People's Assembly is also testimony to the consolidation of the people's power, the sound moral-political situation we have in our country and the steel unity of the people round the party.

In this session of the People's Assembly, there is presented for approval the draft plan and draft budget of 1986 which we have just begun, which is the first year of the 8th Five-Year Plan.

This plan is based on the correct Marxist-Leninist line and policy of our party, on our revolutionary experience, on the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. As the 13th plenum of the C C of the party underlines, it opens up great perspectives for the entire economic and social development of the country, for the strengthening of the political and economic independence, to raise material and cultural well-being of the people, Comrade Pali Miska said in conclusion.

Bekteshi Address

AU121900 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 12 Jan 86

[Report on speech by AWP Politburo candidate member Besnik Bekteshi at 11 January People's Assembly meeting in Tirana devoted to 40th anniversary of proclamation of republic]

[Text] Tirana, January 11 (ATA) -- In his contribution Comrade Besnik Bekteshi said among others: 40 years ago, proclaiming Albania People's Republic, the Constitutent Assembly legally consecrated the new revolutionary regime, the dictatorship of the proletariat, which our people, under the leadership of the party with Comrade Enver Hoxha in the head, had established through people's revolution, it consecrated the way of the construction of socialism our country had embarked on.

Further on Comrade Besnik Bekteshi spoke of the correct policy that the party pursued in the first years after liberation, for overcoming the numerous difficulties and hindrances, on the importance of the historic decisions taken by the Constituent Assembly on January 11, 1946, and which opened the way to a series of profound revolutionary transformations.

Speaking of the great transformations that have taken place in our socialist homeland, in industry, agriculture, education, science, culture, etc, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi stressed:

Today our economy is complex, multibranched, stable and dynamic. It does not know crisis and inflation, an economy that produces for the present and future, that fulfills the growing needs of the working people, but also accumulates for the future. Our new industry, monumental deed of the party and our people's power, relies on the raw materials of the country, the riches of our soil and subsoil, on the work and creative abilities of the people. It is one of the main pillars of the development of all the sectors of economy, a powerful basis for the strengthening of the defence of the country and the further elevation of the wellbeing of the working masses.

Our collectivised agriculture, which marches non stop on the road of modernization and intensification, is the other pillar on which is based the development and progress of the whole country. It has undergone changes that brook no comparison with the past. Its introduction on the socialist road of development, the huge investments made by the state, particularly for the reclamation and systematization of plains, for the creation of a complex irrigation system, the mechanisation and supply of chemical fertilizers, the selected seeds, etc, have completely changed the view of our countryside. With its products it meets the needs of the country for bread grains, of industry with raw materials and ensures income from export. As for the yields from cereals today it is compared with the countries that have an advanced agriculture.

In harmony with the development of industry and agriculture and in order to satisfy the growing needs of the people there have been developed the other branches of economy such as construction, transport, etc. On this basis over these 40 years our country has made a great leap forward which would take epochs to be achieved.

From the heights our republic has reached over these 40 years, we see with legitimate pride the brilliant perspectives the party has designed for the future, the reliable road for the construction of the socialist society in our country. At present our country has a powerful base and numerous possibilities for a rapid development over the coming years, particularly during the 8th Five-Year Plan, which opens fresh perspectives; it will harmoniously carry further the whole economic and social development of the country, will strengthen our political and economic independence and will raise higher the wellbeing of our people, Comrade Besnik Bekteshi said in conclusion.

Malile Address

AU121741 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 12 Jan 86

[Report on speech by Reis Malile, assembly deputy and foreign minister, at 11 January meeting of People's Assembly in Tirana devoted to 40th anniversary of proclamation of republic]

[Text] Tirana, January 11 (ATA) -- Our people celebrate the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the republic at a time when the position and the prestige of our socialist homeland in the world are stronger than ever, said among others the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile.

Just as in all the fields of life, the achievements of our foreign policy, too, bear the seal of the political and philosophical thought, of the revolutionary action of the glorious leader of the party and the Albanian people, the architect of new Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The foreign policy of our party and state has its foundations in the principle of the complete independence in all the fields, political, economic, ideological and military.

Our people and government have always supported resolutely the struggle of the peoples for liberation and for the defence of the national freedom and independence. They are and will always be against the policy of aggression and the war of imperialist powers, in the first place the United States of America and the Soviet Union, against the oppression and neo-colonial exploitation, dictate and hegemony, tutelage and racial discrimination. They are for the friendship and equality among peoples, they have never reconciled with and condemned the chauvinism and national oppression as well as the narrow bourgeois nationalism.

Only few weeks have gone by since the Geneva summit meeting between the United States and the Soviet Union, about which both sides made much demagogical noise in regard to the so-called "the Geneva spirit", describing it as a new step towards peace. In fact the very grave situation created in the Mediterranean over the recent days due to the threats and aggressive acts of the United States against Libya was added to the existing conflicts and crises.

The American imperialism arbitrarily seeks to justify its brutal intervention and the acts of aggression against a sovereign country. The grave situation created in the Mediterranean poses a serious threat to the freedom and independence of the peoples of this region, to the peace and security in Europe and the world.

The Albanian people join the fraternal Arab peoples and the entire world progressive opinion and condemn this brutal act of American imperialism with deep indignation.

Our socialist state has been and is for the development of normal and friendly relations with all the countries that observe the principles of equality, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. Our government has never accepted and will resolutely refute every step or effort to interfere in the internal affairs of our people. On this principle is based also our correct and unchangeable stand for the handing over to our authorities of the 6 Albanian nationals kept in the Italian Embassy in Tirana. Anyone who nurtures illusions that Albania may violate principles or will yield down before the pressures and blackmails, makes a grave mistake. The history of these 40 years of our republic is rich in examples showing that the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian Government have allowed nobody to interfere in the internal affairs of our people under whatever mask and pretext. The freedom, independence and national sovereignty are sacred to Socialist Albania.

Socialist Albania has considered the state relations of good neighbourliness, despite the different social systems, as one of the priorities of its foreign policy. The positive achievements in the recent years in this direction show that when good will exists, when realities are evaluated objectively, when the sentiments of friendship are appreciated, a common language has always been found for fruitful cooperation and further development of the relations, Comrade Reis Malile stresses in conclusion.

Cami Address

AU121622 Tirana ATA in English 1910 GMT 12 Jan 86

[Report on speech by AWP Politburo candidate member Foto Cami at 11 January People's Assembly meeting in Tirana devoted to 40th anniversary of proclamation of republic]

[Text] Tirana, January 11 (ATA) -- During these 40 years since the founding of our people's power, Comrade Foto Cami said among others in his speech, colossal social transformations have taken place in our socialist country. As for their nature and dimensions, their extension profundity and the radical changes they have brought in the life of the Albanian people, these transformations are of an epoch-making importance. Being illuminated by the immortal teachings of Marxism-Leninism, guided by the party of labour and great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian people have made a gigantic leap forward, which is unprecedented in their history. As a result the historical processes have been accelerated as never before.

The most important and distinct resultant of all these transformations is our new man, the active and conscientious citizens of Socialist Albania.

A deep-going process of the allround emancipation of the working man, unprecedented so far in history, an allround flourishing of his personality as a social being, producer, working man, political-social activist, citizen and individual in all his social relations with the work, culture, mode of living, collective and the family, has taken place in our country.

Being freed from the grave oppression and exploitation of the past, from his anxiety to gain the daily bread, from the insecurity in life, the new man of Socialist Albania has won unseen possibilities which enable him to conduct a vigorous activity as an active subject in the historical process.

The allround emancipation of the man in our new society is a vivid mass phenomenon which can be met in all fields of life.

The nature of our political order and our socialist democracy itself enables every man to be a political and social activist, who can take an active part in running of the state and the governing of the country, in the drafting of the plans and the state laws, in the discussion on all the problems of society. He enjoys the genuine effective right to elect and be elected without those numerous restrictions we see in the exploiting societies, even in the socalled advanced bourgeois democracy.

The social property on the means of production, the entire system of socialist relations in production create the objective material conditions for the free development of the man, bring closer and united the people, make them be compact in a single collective, create and develop the relations of friendship, cooperation and mutual aid between them. Socialist society in general and every collective in particular take a great interest to ensure that every working man develops all his abilities and expands his political and cultural horizon, his knowledge and qualification, because the more cultured and learned he is, the greater his contribution to the collective and society, to their progress. The private property, which creates hostile relations between man and the society and other people has been liquidated in our society. Here is applied the principle "one for all and all for one".

The profound ideological and cultural socialist revolution has constantly advanced and consolidated this unprecedented human emancipation.

In no capitalist country there are created and exist such unlimited possibilities for the working people to get acquainted with the achievements of science and culture and assimilate them, as in socialism.

Our people see their freedom, Comrade Foto Cami said further on, in the liberation from the economic, political and spiritual chains of the old system, from all those evils and incurable wounds of this system, from which millions of working people suffer in the capitalist countries, they see them in the entirely new human relations existing among our people, between them and the collective, the society and state, in those qualities and pure virtues that the party and our society cultivate in them, in those great possibilities of development and progress that socialism creates for the individual and the society.

And why does the present imperialist bourgeoisie boast of and make much fuss about human freedoms and rights at a time when it has abandoned them long ago and is violating them in the most brutal way every day? Can it boast of the freedom and the right when it denies others of their freedom, when it tramples under foot their property and sovereignty and sows death in different parts of the world, to kill innocent people and hurl the peoples in a terrible world slaughter. Can it boast of the savage violence exerted in all directions, from the sexual one up to the political violence, from the Mafia banditry up to terrorism transfomed into state policy? What kind of freedom is that when people are robbed and assassinated in the middle of the day, when racists, fascists and every other scum are protected, when people fall into corruption and degeneration when they become drug-addicts and are turned into hippies? Or shall we call freedom that when the people are thrown in streets en masse as unemployed, when women are only considered as an ornament for the husbands, when children as sold in markets like animals, when all the press media, literature and art, radio-television and cinematography serve to propagate horror, dread, crimes, assassination, violation, pornography, which lull the minds of the people and ruin their lives?

Our people are free once and for all from these so-called freedoms and rights. Our new emancipated man feels himself free precisely in our socialist society. He enjoys the fruits and freedom he has gained through his struggle, under the leadership of his party of labour, inspired by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and Comrade Enver Hoxha.

He works and fights to defend and consolidate these victories, to carry them forward with an unflinching loyalty.

The achievements of our country in the liberation and all-sided emancipation of the man are really magnificent, Comrade Foto Cami said in conclusion.

Session's Continuation 13 Jan

AU140859 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Text] Tirana, January 13 (ATA) -- The 8th session of the 10th legislature of the People's Assembly continued its proceedings today before noon.

The deputies and the guests burst out into applauses when Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Comrades Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, LLambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party Vangjel Cerrava, when members of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and government entered the hall.

The sitting was declared open by the chairman of the presidency of the People's Assembly Comrade Pali Miska. He proposed the following agenda for the holiday of the proceedings of the session.

1. Report of the Council of Ministers "On the Fulfilment of The State Plan and Budget for 1985 and the Draft Plan on the Economic and Socio-Economic Development and the State Draft Budget for 1986".
2. Draft law "On the State Plan on the Development of Economy and Culture of the PSR of Albania for 1986".
3. Draft law "On the State budget for 1986".
4. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies approved unanimously the agenda.

Then the floor was taken by the chairman of the State Planning Commission Niko Gjyzari who submitted the report of the Council of Ministers "On the Realisation of the State Plan and Budget for 1985 and the Draft Plan on the Economic and Social Development and the State Draft Budget for 1986".

The report in the name of the Permanent Planning and Budget Commission of the People's Assembly was held by the chairman of the commission, the Deputy Luan Muhameti.

After the reports, the contributions to the discussion began.

Session's Conclusion

AU150942 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 15 Jan 86

["The 8th Session of the 10th Legislature of the People's Assembly Successfully Wound Up Its Proceedings" -- ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 14 (ATA) -- The last sitting of the 8th session of the 10th legislature of the People's Assembly was held today before noon.

The deputies and guests burst out into applauses when Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the central Committee of the party and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly and Comrades Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, the members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Hajredin Celiku, Hajuran Isai, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Rita Marko, Simon Stefani, the alternate members of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Llambi Gegprifti, Prokop Murra, Qirjako Mihali, the secretary of the Central Committee of the party Vangjel Cerrava, the members of the presidium of the People's Assembly and government entered the hall.

The contributions to the report of the Council of Ministers "On the Fulfillment of the State Plan and Budget for 1985 and the Draft Plan on the Socio-Economic Development and the State Draft Budget for 1986" continue at this setting. The floor was taken by Deputy Llambi Gegprifti, the Minister of Finances Andera Nako, the Deputies Tomor Beqollari, Halil Baci, the minister of home trade Osman Murati, the deputies Ibrahim Gjevorign, Nike Shyti, Ibrahim Madhi and Elsabeta Sadicu.

After the contributions to the discussion were over, the deputies approved unanimously in principle and article for article and in general the law "On the State Plan on the Development of the Economy and Culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania for 1986" and the law "on the State Budget for 1986".

Regarding the last point of the agenda, the floor was taken by the deputy Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, who in the name of the Presidium presented the report on the decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The deputies approved unanimously in general and apart the decrees issued by the Presidency of the People's Assembly. Then the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly Comrade Pali Miska held the closing speech. At this session, in the spirit of the latest decisions and particularly of the 13th plenum of the CC of the party as well as of the tasks laid by Comrade Ramiz Alia during his visit to some districts of the country last year, Comrade Pali Miska said among others, we examine the fulfillment of the tasks of the plan and budget of 1985 and unanimously approved the laws on the plan and budget for 1986. Here we analysed the achievements, here it was reflected a rich experience and important problems were raised that have to do with the further development of economy and culture, relying always on our own forces.

The year 1986 is year of great tasks. The fulfillment of the tasks of the plan in every front is a good beginning and important basis for the realisation of the whole five year plan.

Our working masses, through their work, express everywhere their conviction that in steel unity around the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will realise the great objectives envisaged for 1986 as well as the tasks that will be set by the party in the future.

At this the 8th session of the 10th legislature of the People's Assembly wound up its proceedings successfully.

BTA ENDORSES GORBACHEV 'GLOBAL PEACE PROGRAM'

AU161140 Sofia BTA in English 1112 GMT 16 Jan 86

["Global Peace Programme" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA commentator V. Toshkov) -- Mankind can get rid of the nuclear catastrophe threat. This is the message implied in the statement of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev, secretary general of the CC of the CPSU. The latest proposals on strengthening peace, on halting the dangerous nuclear arms race are yet another manifestation of the Soviet Union's good will and sound reason, and they reaffirm the consistent peace-loving line in the Soviet foreign policy.

Exceedingly important for the maintenance of peace is the proposed package of measures on a step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. There is an ironclad logic in Mr Gorbachev's words, instead of wasting the coming ten or fifteen years on the development of a new exceedingly dangerous weapon, is it not rather more reasonable to go ahead with the destruction of the weapons themselves and in the final analysis to reduce them to nothing? This simple and clear wording epitomizes the aspirations and hopes of all nations.

The honest and constructive approach of the USSR to disarmament issues is evidenced in the decision announced by Mr Mikhail Gorbachev on a three-month extension of the Soviet Union's unilateral nuclear test moratorium. Calling once again on the U.S. to join this practical step towards the elimination of nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union reiterated its sincere and disinterested approach to the key issue of our time, the question of war and peace. "We are making one more try in this direction," Mr Mikhail Gorbachev said. "Otherwise, the process of military rivalry will turn into an avalanche and then the course of events will get entirely out of hand."

Another highlight in the Soviet leader's statement is the chemical weapons' issue. The Soviet Union believes that the ultimate elimination of this mass destruction weapon is quite a realistic objective already before the end of the century. In this field, too, the Soviet side offers concrete steps towards the attainment of this vital goal.

The latest Soviet peace initiative is tabled at the Soviet-American talks in Geneva which start a new round today. The concrete disarmament programme opens up a possibility, provided the goodwill of the other side is there, to make decisive progress along the road to disarmament. Realistic and timely, grounded on irrefutable arguments, the Soviet proposals are aimed to prevent another, exceedingly dangerous spiral of the arms race, at achieving a breakthrough in the relations between the USSR and the United States, between the East and the West, at an improvement of the international climate.

These clear and constructive proposals emerge as an effective instrument of countering the attempts by the arch reactionary circles of U.S. imperialism to gain military superiority and to destabilize the situation in the world by their "star wars" plans. More and more doctrines and directives are produced now in Washington, seeking to give the military a free hand and to step up the nuclear blackmail against other countries. A recent example is the line of "new globalism", adopted by the U.S. Administration, which spells serious dangers for the peoples worldwide.

For their part, the new Soviet initiatives can rightly be called a "Global Peace Programme", as they are directed at averting the nuclear threat, at strengthening security and understanding among the peoples.

SECURITY COUNCIL DELEGATE CITES MIDDLE EAST STAND

AU151012 Sofia BTA in English 0844 GMT 15 Jan 86

["Bulgaria's Stand on the Middle East Issue" -- BTA headline]

[Text] New York, January 15 (BTA) -- Bulgaria's participation in the UN Security Council is a great honor to our country, the permanent representative of Bulgaria to the UN, Mr. Boris Tsvetkov said in his first speech as a member of this important body of the UN for the following two years.

At a session of the council he pointed out that the Bulgarian delegation will make all that is possible for the implementation for the highly responsible tasks which have been set before the Security Council in the spirit of the high ideals and principles of the world organization.

Analyzing the reasons for the explosion prone situation in the Middle East, Mr. Boris Tsvetkov condemned Israel which is brutally violating the majority of the UN resolutions and international law by means of new tactical methods and which, with the all-round support of the United States, is continuing its expansionistic activities in Lebanon. He expressed full support and solidarity with the just struggle of the Lebanese national resistance against the Israeli aggression and occupation. There is only one way to the achieving of peace in this land: the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops beyond the internationally recognized borders of Lebanon, as has been pointed out in resolution 508 and 509 of the UN Security Council, Mr. Boris Tsvetkov said.

Pointing out that the situation in Lebanon is only one aspect of the Middle East conflict, the Bulgarian representative recalled that the all-round, just and lasting resolution of this conflict can be achieved only at an international conference with the participation of all interested countries. This is imperative today when the situation has been seriously aggravated due to the new adventurist plans and the overt threats of military activities and the manifestations of state terrorism as well as the adoption of economic and political sanctions against independent and sovereign states in the region.

MUSLIM DENIES TURKISH 'LIE' ON RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

AU101320 Sofia BTA in English 1205 GMT 10 Jan 86

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA) -- Today's OTECHESTVEN FRONT publishes an open letter to Mr. Sharifuddin Pirzada, [spelling as received] secretary general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference at Rabat, from the Bulgarian citizen Aleksandur Yuliyanov, who has been kidnapped by Turkish agents and forcibly taken to Turkey on March 10, 1985, at the time when he has been on an excusion to Austria.

"You should know that my stay in Turkey had been used by the Turkish press, radio and television, for slanders against my motherland," writes Aleksandur Yuliyanov. He declares that everything that has been fabricated about him and about the situation of the Muslims in Bulgaria is a clear cut falsification and lie. He also states that he has refused to support these slanders when he has been kept in custody by the Turkish Police.

"At home, in Bulgaria, one is free to follow any religion one chooses," stresses Aleksandur Yuliyanov. Pointing out that there is not any prohibition on religious rituals in Bulgaria, he writes: "Muslims in Bulgaria are free people, we may work whatever we want, and go wherever we choose ....Our Muslim creed does not separate us from our dear motherland Bulgaria. With our work we contribute to the flourishing of our motherland." Aleksandur Yuliyanov, who thanks to the efforts of the Bulgarian

Government managed to return to Bulgaria, says that his stay under detention in the Turkish police has affected badly his health, and now he is having difficulties in recovering it.

FURTHER ON ANTONOV TRIAL PROCEEDINGS IN ROME

Traykov 'Analysis' 14 Jan

AU140835 Sofia BTA in English 0730 GMT 14 Jan 86

["Justice and Nothing But Justice -- Nothing To Substantiate the Charges" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 14 (BTA) -- In connection with the resumption of the closing phase of the second trial in Rome concerning the attempt on the life of the pope, Mr. Boyan Traykov, director general of the BTA analyses the results of the hearings of the case and draws the conclusions which ensue from them.

Mr. Boyan Traykov points out that nothing out of what has been established in the course of the trial and during the preliminary investigation has confirmed in any way whatsoever the allegation of the assailant Mehmet Ali Agca, that there has been some "Bulgarian connection" in the plot to kill the pope. Just on the contrary, everything that has turned up during this trial, shows that the three Bulgarian citizens: Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyo Vasilev, are innocent and that they have nothing to do with this attempt, perpetrated by the Trukish fascist terrorist Agca.

Following is the sixth part of the analysis:

The administration of justice implies an utmostly delicate establishment of identities and realities, of people's material and emotional relationships, of their real state and dynamism. In certain cases, indeed, it is exceedingly difficult to tell falsehood from truth, guilt from innocence. And since the person who metes out justice is only human and he is not in a position to set aside entirely his world outlook, his personal and social feelings, with a view to safeguard him against partiality, the founding fathers of Roman Law, the ages of court practice and the present-day judicial morality recommend certain principles and norms which must be necessarily observed so as to guarantee a maximum degree of objectivity in the administration of justice.

I was left with the impression that these classical principles and norms were often regarded with disparagement rather than with the due respect in the course of the second pope plot trial in the court's investigative endeavours, in the comments of the majority of the Italian papers which voice the opinion of Rome's Palazzo di Guistizia.

Here are my considerations:

1. Discrepancies and doubts in the information obtained and in the statements heard are interpreted to the benefit of the prosecution and not as they are supposed to be and they should be interpreted, i.e., to the benefit of the defendants! Just one example: Agca's two contradictory and doubtful descriptions as to where the weapons used in St. Peter's Square had come from: In one version, Antonov had fetched them in two black briefcases on their way to the square, and in another, the Turkish terrorists had used their own pistols and grenades.

2. Conjectures and assumptions may not be admitted and regarded as facts and proofs! A Turkish defendant, the worker Bagci, passed in transit through Bulgaria during his holiday in just one day, and Prosecutor Marini told the press he inferred from this that the trip had not been accidental and that Bagci had met then with representatives of the Bulgarian secret services and that...here you are, the Bulgarian connection emerged.

3. Arbitrary opinions are likewise inadmissible as facts and evidence! Such are the opinions of a former Bulgarian citizen that Antonov ought to speak English, or the opinion of another former Bulgarian citizen that Antonov ought to be a spy.

4. The court may not admit, let alone take seriously the hearsay evidence of witnesses who have no direct relation to the events! Such is the case of one super witness for the prosecution, Yalcin Ozbey, who had been told over the phone that the Bulgarian secret services were behind the papal assassination attempt.

5. The Court is obliged to take a most careful notice -- and not to override -- all, even the minutest, proofs and clues exculpating the defendants: in this case, Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev! Let me mention the establishment of the fact that on May 13, 1981 Sergey Antonov could not have parked his car and could not have waited for the assailants in front of the Canadian Embassy, because at that time this particular section of Via Della Conciliazione was a no parking area. The BTA correspondent in Rome has even found some picture postcards of this place, dating to this period, in which the "no parking" sign is clearly visible.

6. Political slogans and ideological premises are judicially irrelevant and may not be produced or admitted as actual circumstances and evidence! At the June 6 court hearing Ali Agca stated: "I contend with certainty that the Soviet Union is the centre of international terrorism". This statement was conceded undisputedly and, needless to say, the respective media gave it a worldwide publicity.

These are just a few of the legally unwarranted procedures in the trial, each illustrated by one example. Having occurred on a number of occasions, they cannot be taken as accidental but rather demonstrate a systematic infringement of fundamental judicial principles and norms, of cardinal guidelines in the legal proceeding. Such violations cannot but characterize the case as having a clearcut political motivation and purpose rather than a judicial one.

what has been established during the court proceedings?

If we trace the slander in its chronological order, as it was told by Agca and joined by such "outstanding investigative reporters as Sterling and "irreproachable magistrates" as Martella, we can establish beyond all doubt and quite categorically that not shred of direct or circumstantial evidence has been produced in the course of the trial to arouse suspicion, let alone prove:

-- that Bulgarian services had helped Agca escape from the Istanbul prison in 1979;

-- that Bekir Celenk had put Agca in touch with Bulgarian agents in Sofia and that Agca had met Todor Ayvazov;

-- that Agca had talked in Sofia with representatives of other socialist countries;

-- that arrangements had been made in Sofia for an attack on the pope and that Agca and Celik had been promised three million Deutsche Marks or had ever received any sums of money from Bulgarians or on behalf of any Bulgarians;

-- that Bulgarian officials had supplied weapons to Agca or to his friends and associates in Sofia, in Rome or elsewhere;

-- that Bulgarian officials had received Agca and his accomplices in their homes, in their offices or that they had ever met them in Rome or anywhere else;

-- that Bulgarian nationals had given Agca and his accomplices a lift in their cars or provided any other means of transportation to St. Peter's Square in Rome, as well as that they had arranged a getaway for him and his friends from the square and from Italy;

-- that Antonov, Ayvazov, and Vasilev had visited St. Peter's Square on May 11, 12 and 13, 1981, whether in the company of Agca or not;

-- that Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev had had even the poorest command of Turkish and English so as to be able to communicate with Agca;

-- that Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev had ever seen Agca, or had had anything to do with the assassination attempt.

Nothing has been established to substantiate in full or in part, to a greater or to a lesser extent, all or just any of the lies about a Bulgarian assistance to Agca. Not a single piece of evidence, not even an element of proof has been found to corroborate the charges against Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev of having aided and abetted Agca in committing the attempt on the life of Pope John Paul II.

The seven-month court proceedings have only revealed Agca's perjury and have brought it to the notice of the public. They have debunked the evil myth of the Bulgarian connection, but did nothing of any consequence to get at the ultimate truth about Agca's criminal act, the assassination attempt against the Pope, and about Agca's other criminal act, the slander against Bulgarians and their state. If the trial failed in this respect, it is because it followed in the footsteps of Dr. Martella along the wrong path leading to the Bulgarian connection and nowhere else.

If there is anything that the trial did elucidate completely and attest to for certain, it is what the Bulgarian side has been contending from the very beginning:

The investigation, the noisy propaganda publicity and the court trial for the Bulgarian involvement in the attempted murder of Pope John Paul II is a calumny engineered and put into circulation by Western centres of espionage and subversion, it is a big political provocation against the understanding and confidence among the nations, it is an unprecedented ideological campaign of vilification against socialist Bulgaria, against the overall nature of the socialist community, intended to discredit them in the eyes of the world public.

This was the only thing which could be fully established at the Rome trial, and people all over the world have become perfectly well aware of it.

Criticism of Magistrate-Martella

AU142129 Sofia BTA in English 2046 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Text] Rome, January 14 (BTA corr.) -- Today's 72nd hearing of the second trial of the Papal assassination attempt dealt with some procedural issues of great importance for the outcome of the trial.

Mr. Manfredo Rossi, the counsel for the defence of the Bulgarian nationals Zhelyo Vasilev and Todor Ayvazov, protested against the censoring of the records of the interrogations of Francesco Pazienza in New York on the pretext of "investigation secrecy". As is known, the reading of the records at the Friday hearing of the Court was constantly interrupted with the note that Investigating Magistrate Ilario Martella had crossed out whole passages because they represented an "investigative secret."

Thus the Court was deprived of an overall view of the evidence given by Pazienza which are of special importance for determining the truth.

Mr Rossi raised the question why it was that the so-called third investigation of the attempt was once again assigned to investigating magistrate Ilario Martella when his first investigation, according to the words of the counsel for the defence, "gave rise to numerous criticism". Citing Articles 144, 165, Paragraphs 2 and 3, 226, 351 and 352 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, Mr Rossi pointed out that the censoring of the records of the investigation and its presentation in such a shape to the Court is a violation of the law. He insisted that the Court rules for the presentation of the original records of the interrogation of Francesco Pazienza.

Sergey Antonov's lawyer Mr Guiseppe Consolo joined the opinion of Mr Rossi. He refuted Pazienza's statement that he had sent a letter to Antonov's defence. In connection with the announcement of Presiding Judge Severeno Santiapichi that some of the records of the rogatory commissions implemented abroad are still missing. Mr Consolo said that the records of the Sofia Rogatory Commission have been passed over to the Italian Embassy in Bulgaria and that it should be expected that they will be expressly despatched by the embassy to the Rome Criminal Court.

Mr Consolo stressed that Ilario Martella's visit to New York for the interrogation of Pazienza is a violation of the criminal procedure code because its aim was to determine facts which concern the current trial. The lawyer drew attention to the fact that Francesco Pazienza's evidence may lead to a turning point in the trial and insisted on their complete presentation to the Court.

Sergey Antonov's lawyer Adolfo Larussa also joined the opinion of the two counsels for the defence. He asked the court to take a stand on the photograph which was first thought to depict Sergey Antonov but which later turned out to be a photograph of a U.S. citizen of Hungarian origin from Houston, Texas. Mr Larussa pointed out that during the investigation Mr Martella had told the defence that this photograph was of no significance for the case and that it could be a forged photograph. But now Prosecutor Marini has once again drawn attention to this photograph and therefore it is necessary to clarify the circumstances around it.

In his speech the Prosecutor Marini agreed that Francesco Pazienza's evidence is of paramount importance for the case and that its presentation before the Court is inadequate. He asked for the implementation of a rogatory commission in the U.S. with the participation of the judges, the prosecutor and the defence in order to extablish direct contact with Pazienza. The prosecutor also insisted on the interrogation of the people mentioned by Pazienza in his evidence as well as of some other witnesses. Obviously this would result in a considerable extension of the hearings.

Mr Consolo took the floor once again to insist on the interrogation of the Soviet national and journalist Oleg Bytov in case of a continuation of the hearings. In his articles Oleg Bytov revealed that when he was kidnapped by the NATO secret services he was offered to give false evidence in order to support Agca's slanders. [sentence as received] This is why his interrogation will be of great importance for determining Sergey Antonov's innocence.

After the hearing Presiding Judge Santiapichi announced the decision of the Court to reject the requests of the defence and the prosecution for the interrogation of additional witnesses, for the implementation of a new rogatory commission and for the presentation of the full text of the evidence given by Francesco Pazienza. The court is of the opinion that it has collected sufficient evidence for pronouncing its final verdict on the case.

The sessions in Rome will be resumed on February 4, when the hearings will be completed and the speeches of the prosecution and the defense made.

This evening the court made an inspection of the building on 36 Galianni Street in which Todor Ayvazov lived. The inspection was carried out at the request of the defence in order to convince the Court in Agca's untrustworthy description and fabrications.

Traykov 'Analysis' 15 Jan

AU150934 Sofia BTA in English 0741 GMT 15 Jan 86

["Justice and Nothing But Justice -- an Obligation to Justice" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA) — In connection with the resumption of the closing phase of the second trial in Rome concerning the attempt on the life of the pope, Mr. Boyan Traykov, director general of the BTA analyses the results of the hearings of the case and draws the conclusions which ensure from them.

Mr. Boyan Traykov points out that nothing out of what has been established in the course of the trial and during the preliminary investagation has confirmed in any whatsoever the allegation of the assailant Mehmet Ali Agca that there has been some "Bulgarian connection" in the plot to kill the pope. Just on the contrary, everything that has turned up during this trial, shows that the three Bulgarian citizens: Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyo Vasilev, are innocent and that they have nothing to do with this attempt, perpetrated by the Turkish fascist terrorist Agca.

Following is the seventh part of the analysis:

Now that the court proceedings have been completed, the counsels for the prosecution and for the defense are expected to deliver their speeches and the court to pass a judgment.

From a judicial standpoint, the results of the investigation and now these of the trial have already predetermined the judgement on this case in favour of Antonov, Ayvazov and Vasilev. Undoubtedly and incontrovertibly, they are absolutely not guilty of the criminal act committed by Ali Agca, the assasination attempt against Pope John Paul II. With due respect to the legal code, in accordance with the laws, the principles and the ethics in justice, naturally and inevitably, the court must proclaim the absolute innocence of Sergey Antonov, of Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyo Vasilev.

Unfortunately, this case is not regarded from a judicial standpoint. It has a political motivation, development and objectives, which presuppose that the court would deliver its judgement under the respective influence, not to say something worse. This is self-evident and, by and large, it is a cause for concern.

We cannot fail to take into consideration a basic premise in the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, viz. That the entire superstructure of a socio-economic system, in this case the capitalist system, all institutions of the buogeois state are established and programmed to serve and to defend the interests of the ruling bougeois class.

Still, the bourgeois class affiliation of Italy's prosecutors and judges and the political character of the case do not necessarily imply that we should expect a conviction. It implies that in order to achieve the political goals of the trial, all and every effort will be made, as it has been so far, to suppress the truth, to misrepresent the reality, to prime the public by some sham reasoning into accepting the slander, it implies, above all, to have the three Bulgarian nationals convicted. Yes, but there is a limit to everything in this world, a mark which cannot be overstepped.

In 1933, the fascist court in Leipzig, too, was eagerly willing, seeking, as well as acting under the orders to pass a verdict of conviction, for the sake of which it rode roughshod over the bounds of legality and ethics. In the end however, it was compelled to stop.

Irrespective of all manoeuvres, irrespective of all prejudiced and unwarranted actions, I still refuse to admit the possibility of such an inconceivable scandal under the very eyes of the international community, of mankind's supreme values: justice, truth and humanism, being so cruelly trampled on by convicting absolutely innocent people. I still refuse to admit the possibility, and no one can even imagine that in present-day civilized Europe, holding high the torch of reason which lightens mankind's progress towards the twenty-first century, anybody would dareput such a stigma on our age by abusing the most natural right of every honest man, the sacred right to freedom.

Italian judges take an oath pledging allegiance to the republic, loyalty to the laws and conscientious fulfillment of their official duties. Judges, however, are bound by yet another obligation: to justice. What millions of honest people urge and exprect now from the panel of the Rome Criminal Court presided over by Dr. Severino Santiapichi is justice and nothing but justice. This court must put aside all considerations of affiliation, and, proceeding from a heightened sense of integrity, it must give Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev the honourable discharge due to the innocent. Yes, the honourable discharge due to the innocent, and not some half-way, compromise, and doubt-casting formulation as "for lack of sufficient evidence."

Abroad and aloud, Sergey Antonov, Todor Ayvazov and Zhelyu Vasilev must be proclaimed unconditionally and absolutely innocent. Sergey Antonov must walk out of the courtroom with dignity, rejoicing in the triumph of justice.

ZHIVKOV, FILIPOV GREET CASTRO ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

AU031802 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 1 Jan 86 p 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, sent the following telegram to Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and State Council chairman, as well as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba:

Dear Comrade Fidel Csstro,

On behalf of the Bulgarian party and state leadership, on the Bulgarian people's behalf and on our own behalf, we convey to the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, to the State Council, and Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, to the Cuban working people, and to you personally, the most sincere fraternal congratulations on the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the Cuban revolution, celebrated as Liberation Day.

The 1 January 1959 victory which opened the path to the construction of a new society in Cuba, created the prerequisites for full expansion of the people's creative and constructive energies and efforts. Overcoming great difficulties and the aggressive actions of imperialism, the Cuban people, under the leadership of the glorious Cuban Communist Party and in close cooperation with the socialist community countries, achieved remarkable successes in the socioeconomic and cultural development of their motherland.

The Bulgarian Communists and the working people in our country rejoice at the historical achievements of the heroic Cuban people and at their unrelenting upsurge along the path of socialism.

With its firm foreign policy, a peace-loving policy based on principle, the Republic of Cuba today takes its worthy place among the socialist countries and greatly contributes to the struggle for the consolidation of the international situation, for the strenghening of peace and security throughout the world, and for a just settlement of all complicated problems of our epoch. The consistent internationalism and tireless efforts with which Cuba is contributing to the Nonaligned Movement have earned great international prestige for this fraternal country.

We express our deep conviction that the sincere friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our two parties, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Cuba, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will expand and strengthen in the future for the benefit of our two peoples, in the interest of the unity and cohesion of the socialist community, for the sake of peace and socialism.

In celebrating the national holiday of Cuba together with you, we wish the Cuban Communists and all Cuban people, as well as you, dear Comrade Fidel Castro, vigorous health and further successes in socialist construction for the successful preparation of the Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party.

LEADERS, PRESS MARK ALBANIAN ANNIVERSARY

Zhivkov Message

AU131513 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, has sent a message to Ramiz Alia chairman of the presidium of the National Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. On occasion of the 40th anniversary of proclaiming Albania a People's Republic, the message addresses to the fraternal Albanian people most sincere greetings and wishes for successes in the construction of socialism.

The message expresses conviction that relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will develop in the interest of our two peoples and countries and in the interest of peace and socialism.

Todorov Message

AU131517 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 86 p 2

[Text] Stanko Todorov, National Assembly chairman, has sent a message to Pali Miska, chairman of the National Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which expresses most sincere greetings on the 40th anniversary of proclaiming Albania a People's Republic.

The message addresses to the fraternal Albanian people most cordial wishes for successes in the socialist construction of their country. A sincere hope has been expressed that relations between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania will develop in the spirit of the traditional friendship between our two peoples, in the interest of the socialist cause and peace and understanding in the Balkans, Europe, and the world.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO Editorial

AU131522 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jan 86 p 4

[Editorial article: "Years of Socialist Achievements"]

[Text] 11 January marks the 40th anniversary of proclaiming Albania a people's republic. Its foundations were already laid during the years of the national-liberation and antifascist struggle of the Albanian people. A special place in its history is occupied by the Peze Conference (1942), the Labinot Conference (1943), and the Permet Congress (1944), at which the question on the character of the new government was solved, a national liberation council was elected, and its functions as a supreme representative of the new Albanian state determined.

On 29 November 1944, Albania was liberated from fascist occupation. A period began of strengthening the people's government, eradicating the traces of the damage inflicted by the fascists, and a decisive struggle against the anti-Albanian activity of U.S. and English imperialism and the international and internal reaction.

Under these conditions, on 2 December 1945 the first general, free, and democratic elections in Albanian history took place under the slogan "For a people's republic." More than 90 percent of those eligible to vote participated in the elections, and 93 percent of those who voted supported the candidates of the Democratic Front. The Constituent Assembly, elected as a result of the elections, proclaimed Albania a people's republic on 11 January 1946. Two months later, on 14 March, the new constitution was adopted. It consolidated the historical achievements of the Albanian people and revealed the prospects of revolutionary socio-economic transformations along the road of socialism.

During the years of socialist construction, the Albanian people achieved significant successes in various areas of economic and cultural life. Today the country has a modern agriculture, its own metallurgy, and machine building. Good results have been achieved in mining, electricity production, shipbuilding, and other branches of the national economy. Fundamental changes have taken place in the country's labor potential. The Albanian workers' class already numbers 700,000 people. Socialist Albania has more than 56,000 specialists with higher education. The country's working people enjoy many social benefits -- free education and health protection, a broad system of rest and leisure houses, and so forth.

The roots of friendship between the Bulgarian and Albanian peoples are deep. They have been united by their fraternal solidarity in the years of the Revival, in the struggle against the common Turkish oppressor, and later -- in the struggle against the fascist occupiers. The close historical fate and the common goal -- constructing the socialist society -- these are the factors which facilitated the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between our peoples during the first years of our march along the road of socialism.

Today, mutually beneficial economic relations exist between the two socialist countries. The long-range agreement on trade exchange and payments for the period of 1986-1990, which was signed in Sofia on 4 December 1985, is an expression of Bulgari -Albanian trade relations, which are developing along an ascending line. It is an expression of the two countries' striving and willingness to strengthen and develop these relations.

Loyal to its principled and consistent foreign policy, the People's Republic of Bulgaria has repeatedly expressed its readiness to fully normalize and further develop comprehensive relations with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

In the days of the 40th anniversary of proclaiming Albania a people's republic, the Bulgarian people send most cordial greetings to the friendly Albanian people and wishes for new successes in the socialist construction of the country. They are convinced that there are no insurmountable obstacles for developing friendship and cooperation between our two socialist countries in the spirit of the traditional mutual friendship, and in the interest of the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

U.S. REACTION TO GORBACHEV OFFER REPORTED

LD160939 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] The whole world has welcomed with exceptional interest the latest Soviet peace initiative. Our correspondent in New York, Vladimir Solecky, reports on the reaction in the United States on the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, leading Soviet representative:

All the main U.S. TV and radio stations highlighted yesterday the dramatic offer of the USSR, as some commentators refer to the latest Soviet program for eliminating nuclear arsenals of the two superpowers by the year 2000. The basic principles of the proposal, submitted in connection with the resumption of the USSR-U.S. talks in Geneva, are so attractive for the entire world public that the White House simply cannot ignore them or reject them openly. This is all the more so because White House spokesman Larry Speakes, immediately prior to the announcement of the Soviet offer, ostentatiously declared the willingness of the U.S. Government, on the occasion of the resumption of the Geneva talks, to quickly investigate all the constructive proposals of the USSR. George Shultz, U.S. secretary of state, positively assessed the new Soviet program in his interview with ABC. He made it appear that some of its substantial elements are in fact contained in previous U.S. proposals. He said that the U.S. side, it is true, would have preferred the proposal to be submitted quietly in Geneva, but he said it could be a public affair after all. Naturally, he had objections: it will be necessary to clarify many aspects of the proposal, there are some problems and pitfalls; but on the whole, as he said, it is undoubtedly yet another step in the process which is becoming very constructive.

UK TV Reports Offer

LD161016 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Report by London correspondent Zdenek Vilimek]

[Text] British television announced on both its BBC channels as early as yesterday evening that Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has submitted a peace proposal according to which the world should be freed from all nuclear weapons in the next 15 years. The first stage of this peace plan, as the BBC says, should be a 50-percent reduction of the stocks of strategic nuclear weapons. Apparently intending at least partially to question the significant Soviet peace initiative, the BBC broadcast immediately afterward a report of the U.S. Defense Department's groundless attack on the USSR for allegedly increasing the offensive potential of its navy. In an ITV program, its military expert drew attention to the fact that the Soviet peace proposal may be implemented only if the United States abandons its plans for the militarization of space.

PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF CONGRESS DOCUMENTS URGED

AU131716 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Jan 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Everyone Can Express His View"]

[Excerpts] This Wednesday [8 January] the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium approved the draft "Main Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for the Years 1986-1990 and Prospects for the Period Up to the Year 2000" and proposals for the amendment of the CPCZ Statutes.

The full text of the first document, which relies on the conclusions of the 16th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, is published on the inside pages of today's issue; on Monday, 13 January, we will acquaint our readers with the second document. Both documents are an inseparable part of preparations for the 17th CPCZ Congress due in March. The party leadership is now presenting them for public discussion.

The party leadership attaches great importance to the pre-congress discussion. It is only natural and in accordance with the party's traditions that the leading political force of our society considers its congresses and their preparation to be a matter for not only Communists, but also other Czechoslovak citizens who associate their life and social guarantees and prospects with its policy.

With the publication of the two documents, the preparations for the 17th party congress enter a new, more intensive stage.

The CPCZ is coming up with a concrete concept concerning the economic and social development of our society in the next 5 years and with a view to subsequent years. The party clearly states its interest in the documents being considered by the broadest possible public. It wants to know the views of citizens, draw inspiration from their initiative, and gather as many suggestions as possible made on the basis of their experience in life and work.

The proposals that will come from collectives and individuals, from institutions, agencies, and organizations will be utilized in the process of preparations for the congress and prepared for its deliberations.

It is evident from the draft guidelines that people will find in this program a reply to their needs and interests. It is a program that is in all its aspects commensurate with the interests of our citizens. It is a program of full employment, stabilization of social guarantees, prospects in life; a program of accelerated social and economic enhancement of our society.

The second document, which will be made public in Monday [13 January], is also of great importance for the party and its internal line, for the application and intensification of the Leninist style of work. The statutes are a set of basic norms governing the work and life of Communists. That is why the party leadership expects Communists to express their views also on the proposed changes in the statutes. It expects them to do so at party meetings and conferences and also in the pages of the press.

Since mid-October last year, RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA have been publishing once a week, under the heading "Activity, With New Approaches Toward the 17th CPCZ Congress," contributions by workers, cooperative farmers, scientists and technicians, and those employed in health care, culture, education, transport, and other spheres of human activity. In these contributions, they express their proposals, ideas, and comment on questions that were the subject of the conclusions of the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The editorial staffs of RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA expect that the page "Actively, With New Approaches Toward the 17th CPCZ Congress" will now also become an important forum for the discussion about the drafts of the two new documents.

CPSL MEMBER ATTACKS 'FORMALISM' IN LOCAL PRACTICE

AU101537 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Jan 86 p 3

[Letter by Anton Medved, chairman of CPSL street organization No 21 in Banska Bystrica, Central Slovakia, in "Experiences, Proposals, Polemics, Criticism" column: "Formalism -- Scourge of Party Work" -- uppercase passages published in boldbase]

[Text] FORMALISM IS A GREAT EVIL IN THE PARTY'S ACTIVITY AND A SERIOUS OBSTACLE TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF FULL-BLOODED PARTY LIFE. NOT ONLY ECONOMIC MANAGERS, BUT PARTY FUNCTIONARIES AS WELL, SHOULD REALIZE THAT HE WHO MANAGES MUST ALSO EXERCISE CONSISTENT CONTROL AND NOT PRODUCE AN UNNECESSARY QUANTITY OF ORDERS, PROHIBITIONS, AND CIRCULARS. REGRETTABLY, EXCESSIVE RED TAPE IS CURRENTLY MANIFESTED EVEN IN THE WORK OF BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS.

We are writing evaluation sheets, personal descriptions, and all kinds of reports. But what happens to all this information? I think that its fate is questionable. We often get the impression that no one at the district committee reads it. Some 4 years ago, we received directives from the CPSL District Committee to send them monthly reports about the problems and difficulties of people within the scope of our organization's activity. We reported in this way even on serious shortcomings, pointing to problems that are encountered by the people of our housing development. But there was no reaction; the matters were not dealt with. After a year, we therefore stopped sending these monthly reports to the district secretariat. We were surprised that no one found out about that, no one demanded these reports from us. Is this not a case of formalism?

Even with regard to resolutions of basic party organizations, things are not always in order. Resolutions are adopted, but no one consistently checks on their implementation. Many problems are dealt with half-heartedly, not responsibly enough.

Double standards are at times applied against those who are guilty of an aberration, or who violate party statutes. It is a mistake when the position and view of the basic CPSL organization is not taken into consideration, when the district party committee is benevolent toward a comrade who is a member of its high-ranking cadre.

It happens only seldom that the functionary of a basic party organization openly criticizes the director or another high-ranking economic executive. After all, basic CPSL organizations are often chaired by a rank-and-file laborer, maintenance worker, or foreman. If he lacks a firm spine, he will not criticze even a glaring example [of wrongful conduct] because he knows that, if he did, he would not get any bonus or the enterprise management would withhold from him some other benefit. These are, of course, opportunist methods. Unfortunately, people see such overcautious approaches by Communists and draw their own conclusions.

It is also a mistake that at membership meetings members of the committee agree with reports in which managers present nothing but mere statistical data on plan fulfillment, without any deeper analysis of the causes of shortcomings. In such factual reports, partial successes often obliterate the causes of the nonfulfillment of tasks.

A real Communist should always speak frankly about problems and say the truth in everybody's face. It should not make any difference whether he is talking to his director, foreman, or official of the district or regional committee, or some other institution. Neither do I consider as correct when, before a membership meeting, the head of the party group is told what he should talk about. HOWEVER, THE TRUTH IS THAT AT TIMES CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DISCUSSION ARE EVEN "CENSORED." AND THE RESULT? THE ONLY THINGS THAT ARE SAID AT THE MEETING (AND, UNFORTUNATLEY, EVEN AT THE DISTRICT CONFERENCE) ARE THOSE WHICH LEADING FUNCTIONARIES WANT TO HEAR. I think that , in keeping with the statutes, every Communist should speak at meetings about that which he deems most suitable and urgent. He should look for ways out of bad situations and call a spade a spade. Of course, one should not only criticize but also always self-critically acknowledge one's own mistakes.

After all, criticism is a driving force of the party's activity. Regrettably, for many years now (especially at district conferences), specifically targeted critical speeches have been a rarity, with the participants in the discussion talking about the economic results of their plant and enterprise, presenting literally a balance sheet.

Removing formalism from party life, to which we are challenged by the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, is possible and necessary. However, it requires Bolshevik frankness, a critical attitude, and consistency at every step.

PLAN TO IMPLEMENT USSR-CSSR COOPERATION ADOPTED

AU091310 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 7 Jan 86 p 1

[Editorial: "A Start to Realization"]

[Text] Linked to the results of the CEMA economic summit held in June 1984 in Moscow, and on the basis of the accords between the CSSR and USSR premiers, a program of long-range economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two states for the period up to the year 2000 was worked out and signed by Comrades G.Husak and M. Gorbachev last May.

The aforementioned program contains the basic objectives of cooperation in accelerating scientific-technological progress, and formulates the main directions of cooperation in science and technology, in the basic industrial branches, the agricultural-industrial complex, transportation, and in the development and perfection of the mechanism of mutual cooperation.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet program of long-range cooperation is one of the most important documents concluded between the two states, influencing their mutual relations and plans for many years ahead. It is of exceptional importance for our economy, science, and technology, because in these fields it stipulates the achievement in the years to come of a standard which we could harldy master with our own potential and means in the given time span.

At the 25th session of the intergovernmental Czechoslovak-Soviet Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation, it was agreed to work out a plan of measures to implement the program of cooperation; that is, to determine a pragmatic time schedule for the realization of the approved plans. The federal government recently adopted a plan of measures aimed at the realization of the program of cooperation with the Soviet Union up to the year 2000.

Thus, the plan of measures can unequivocally be called a start to the realization of the aforementioned important agreement. Although it is scheduled over 15 years, it is necessary to begin realizing it without delay, and already incorporate it into the intentions of our Eighth 5-Year Plan so that the fruits of mutual cooperation can be harvested in the next few years. There is no need to recall that the faster the planned cooperation manifests itself in practice, the more effectively it will influence our efforts aimed at the intensification of the national economy and the upswing in its effectiveness. It will favorably influence the creation of national income.

The plan of measures entrusts the cooperating ministries and central offices of the two states with concrete tasks aimed at ensuring the program of cooperation in its entire breadth and depth. It contains the main tasks of bilateral cooperation aimed at the further development of economic and scientific-technological relations and at a deeper intertwining of the Czechoslovak and Soviet economies in the future period. The realization of the aforementioned measures also means an important step in deepening the coordination of economic policy.

The plan of measures constitutes a comprehensive document which reflects the current state and determines the forms and manner of cooperation which can be contemplated in view of the achieved and envisaged intensity of cooperation between the two states. Responsible directors have been nominated for every measure, and information has been provided about the nature and date of signing of the appropriate bilateral document, the realization deadline, and the anticipated results. The measures are linked to the multilateral cooperation between the CEMA members; they proceed from it, concretize it, and develop it on a bilateral basis.

The plan of measures is an open-ended document which, in the course of its implementation, will be complemented, amended, and brought up to date, especially by the concrete tasks for Czechslovak-Soviet cooperation which arise from the comprehensive program of CEMA scientific-technological progress up to the year 2000, adopted at an extraordinary CEMA session at the end of December.

What is the structure and content of the plan for realization? The first part contains measures pertaining to the expansion of foreign trade; the technical services for mutually delivered machinery and equipment; cooperation in the construction, modernization, and reconstruction of industrial enterprises and other projects in the CSSR; and cooperation in the construction of projects in third countries.

The second part contains the basic directions for the development of scientific-technological cooperation. These include the tasks of basic research within the two states' Academies of Sciences; of priority, comprehensive interbranch and important branch problems of science and technology, selected for joint solution; tasks of scientific-technological research and the training of experts; and licensing policy.

The third part is devoted to the solution of problems connected with ensuring the fuel, energy, and raw material resources for the national economy. Similarly, the fourth part deals with ensuring needs with regard to ferrous and nonferrous metallurgical products, and with scientific-technological cooperation in metallurgy.

The fifth part of the plan of measures is of particular importance; it concerns cooperation in engineering, electrotechnical engineering, and electronics.

The program of long-range cooperation, as well as the plan of measures for its realization, put exceptional emphasis on raising the technological standard and quality of mutually delivered machinery and equipment, in harmony with the coordination of national economic plans between the CSSR and the USSR. A list has been compiled of 110 groups of machinery and equipment that we deliver to the Soviet Union, and 50 types of Soviet machinery delivered to us; these will receive particular care as regards improving their technological standards. Also worked out was a plan for acquiring the production of roughly 65 types of machinery and equipment, which until now have been imported from other states. The Czechoslovak side was entrusted with the task of acquiring the know-how for new production, and the overall volume of the deliveries of this machinery is to reach almost R3 billion in the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

The sixth part of the plan of measures deals with proposals to establish joint organizations and development laboratories in the chemical and petrochemical industry, and the development of direct production relations between specific enterprises.

The seventh part includes cooperation in transportation and communications aimed at ensuring the transportation of foreign-trade goods by railroad, road, air, and water, including concrete measures from our side and the Soviet side. Extensive scientific-technological cooperation in communications is expected.

Another part stipulates cooperation in the production of consumer goods and foodstuffs, and the adopted measures develop the scientific-technological cooperation in the light, food, meat, dairy, and furniture industries in particular, as well as in the paper and cellulose industries. In consumer industry, one expects in particular the modernization of the production base and the improvement of the structure of production and the variety of products. Together with the previously explained intentions, this shows that the plan of measures is not schematic, bur sensitively assesses the possibilities and the needs of the two states; it determines directions which are in the interest of better satisfying the needs of both sides.

The bilateral agreements on cooperation in the construction of the Progress gas pipeline, the Ural gas combine, and the combine for the extraction and processing of iron ore in Krivoy Rog are a concrete manifestation that the realization cf the aforementioned plan of measures is already underway. With the construction of projects in the USSR, and with the deliveries of machinery, equipment, and housing complexes which will be realized in the course of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, the CSSR will ensure for itself considerable deliveries of Soviet natural gas for the coming period.

An intensive deepening of intrabranch and intrasectoral exchange is to be the decisive catalyst in the dynamism of mutual economic relations. Therefore, one must give priority attention to developing them. It is also necessary to develop cooperation at lower levels of management, above all at the level of economic organizations, and to help develop their direct relations in all possible ways.

The program of long-range cooperation and the plan of measures for its realization put great responsibility on all components of management for consistently and creatively carrying out the stipulated tasks. They require an active and initiative approach, energetic procedures, and systematic checks. The importance of the aforementioned documents for our economy stimulates us to endeavor to do more, faster, and better than stipulated. In this one must be spurred on by the awareness of the close relationship between the determined goals and the planned development of our national economy, the creation of national income and, thus, the means for the further construction of a developed socialist society.

POSTWAR SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN ALBANIA PRAISED

AU151012 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 86 p 6

[Frantisek Jarolim article: "The Historic Step of the Albanian People, The 40th Anniversary of the People's System"]

[Text] On 11 January the Albanian working people will be celebrating a signficant anniversary in the modern history of their country. On that day 40 years ago, Albania's Constitutional Assembly, which emerged from the first postwar democratic elections in December 1945, proclaimed -- in harmony with the will of the emphatic majority of the population -- the elimination of monarchy and the establishment of the system of people's democracy.

In this way the working people who took over political power and set up their own government resolved once and for all the issue of political power, the new foundations of which emerged during the years of the heroic liberation struggle against the Italian and Hitlerite invaders and domestic reaction. As far back as 1942, at the time of the fascist occupation of the country, the Peze conference of the patriotic movement called, on the communists' initiative, for the establishment of liberation councils throughout the country and formulated the task to unify and mobilize the people's masses for the fight for a free, independent, and democratic Albania.

An important landmark on the path of developing the people's revolution was the first congress of the National Liberation Front, convened in May 1944 in the already liberated city of Permet. The conclusions adopted there -- namely "to build a new people's democratic Albania; to ban ex-King Zogu from the country; not to recognize any other government which could be formed against the will of the Albanian people both in the country and outside it; to continue the fight against the German invaders and Albanian traitors until they were totally smashed; and to install the government of the people's democracy throughout the country" -- already fully affirmed the communists' decisive influence in the national liberation struggle and their effort to set up a new, people's power.

After more than 5 years of fighting against the invaders, which has demanded great sacrifices, the Albanian people achieved -- thanks to the favorable international conditions in consequence of the rapid advance of the Soviet Army over Romania, Bulgaria, and the eastern part of Yugoslovia -- the culmination of their country's liberation on 29 November 1944.

The regaining of national independence and sovereignty led to a further upsurge of revolutionary awareness and a still more determined effort to establish a new state. The first constitution, proclaimed on 14 March 1946, anchored all that the people had won in the antifascist, anti-imperialist, and antifeudal revolution, as well as in the course of democratic transformations. The Albanian state, which up until then was a plaything in the hands of the imperialist powers of those times and whose independence was considerably curtailed, became an independent and sovereign state.

Even though the establishment of the working people's power was a basic change, it was still only the beginning of the road embarked upon. Great effort was still needed to turn the semifeudal country, obsolete in every respect, into a state with the necessary economic potential, based on its rich natural resources and the energy of the people's masses.

Such basic socioeconomic transformations as land reform and the reconstruction of rural areas, nationalization of industrial enterprises, banks, and shops, gradual industrialization of the coutntry and the sociocultural measures connected with this, have all helped to rapidly overcome the heavy legacy of the past -- 90-percent illiteracy -- and to bring about the reconstruction of cities and villages, two thirds of which had been destroyed by the war, and the elimination of the inequality of women in society. This was accomplished with the fraternal and all-around support and assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

It was exactly the close linkage with the socialist countries that helped the Albanian people in the first years of people's power to build processing plants, cement works, and engineering enterprises; to begin extracting the country's greatest riches -- its raw materials, including crude oil; and to train experts for its national economy.

With the aid of the CEMA member countries, during the fifties and at the beginning of the sixties certain significant enterprises of the air-force industry were built in Albania, and a power base and processing industry was created. Broad cooperation with the above countries, based on equal rights, mutual advantages, and respect, transformed the backward agrarian state, in whose economy foreign capital had a dominating position, into an industrial-agricultural state in which the people's culture and their educational standards, as well as medical and social care for the population, rapidly developed. From the end of the sixties, only the socialist sector existed in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, both in industry and in agriculture. Industry, which creates about 50 percent of the national income, has acquired a decisive position in the national economy in the course of the building of the new society.

During the past 40 years, Czechoslovak-Albanian relations underwent a complicated development. The basic political changes that occurred after the defeat of fascism in the two countries established suitable conditions for the broad development of mutual contacts. During the fifties our country signficantly participated in Albania's industrialization, in the development of its engineering, transportation, medical care, and education.

The parting of ways between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in 1961 also signified the limitation of Czechoslovak-Albanian relations. They developed substantially only in the commercial sphere. Today Socialist Czechoslovakia consistently holds one of the first places among Albania's foreign partners in this sphere. Mutual trade has been growing steadily since 1978. Czechoslovakia exports to Albania trucks, hydraulic loading machines, various machinery equipment, rolled material, the products of the chemical industry, and various kinds of consumer goods. It imports from Albania mineral raw materials and agricultural produce.

The cooperation between the two countries is advantageous for both sides. The Czechoslovak side is prepared not only to expand the trade relations, but also to develop contacts in other spheres, on the basis of mutual equal rights and advantages.

On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of Albania's proclamation as a people's republic, the Czechoslovak people sincerely wish the Albanian working people successes in building socialism and the upsurge of their national economy and culture. The Czechoslovak people express the wish that the cooperation and friendly relations between the CSSR and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania successfully develop in the interests of the peoples of both countries and of the ensurance of peace and security in the world.

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 11 January carries on page 7 a 250-word "(KC)"-signed commentary in the "Topicalities" column, entitled "The Albanian Jubilee." After noting that the establishment of a people's democracy in Albania was based on the foundations created during the national liberation struggle against fascist invaders and on the favorable conditions for the country's liberation created by the Soviet offensive in the Balkans, the commentary cites figures on the losses suffered by Albanian troops in 1939-44. The commentary then deals with Albania's transformation into an agricultural-industrial state "with the all-around assistance of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries," and speaks in identical terms as RUDE PRAVO about CSSR-Albanian relations after 1961 and the current export-import relations. It concludes: "The steadily growing trade during the past few years testifies that cooperation between the two countries is bilaterally advantageous. Czechoslovakia is striving for a development of mutual contacts also in other spheres, in the interests of the peoples of both states and in the interests of peace and socialism."

CHNOUPEK MEETS NORWEGIAN KING, PARLIAMENTARIANS

LD160025 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Norway -- Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, was received today by Olaf V, king of Norway. Bohuslav Chnoupek conveyed to him the greeting of Gustav Husak, president of the republic, which was returned by the king. He informed him about CSSR positions on the international situation and the initiatives of socialist countries regarding disarmament. The Norwegian king praised the bilateral relations between Norway and the CSSR and welcomed their further development.

Bohuslav Chnoupek also met members of the Foreign Committee of the Norwegian parliament today. In his conversation with the deputies he stressed the need for the policy of relaxation of tension and cooperation in the conditions of peace and mutual security. Bohuslav Chnoupek spoke highly of Norway's negative attitude to the building of foreign military bases, the siting of nuclear weapons on its territory, and its disagreement with the "star wars" program.

STROUGAL RECEIVES COLOMBIAN ECONOMICS MINISTER

LD160056 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Gustavo Castro Guerrero, Colombian minister of economic development, in the Hrzan Palace in Prague today. In the conversation, he acquainted the guest with plans for the development of the CSSR economy in 1986-1990, and in this context he emphasized that we are interested in intensifying all-around relations with Colombia. When evaluating the present international situation he praised the foreign policy of the Colombian Government and the efforts of the Contadora group countries to find ways and points of departure to remove tension and avert military conflict in Central America.

Gustavo Castro Guerrero expressed thanks for the help given to Colombia by the CSSR to reduce the tragic consequences of the eruption of the Nevado del Ruiz volcano, and he expressed the conviction that the CSSR participation in the industrialization and foreign tradeof his country will deepen in the future.

PRESS FEATURES GORBACHEV ARMS PROPOSALS

LD161144 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0200 GMT 16 Jan

["GDR Press Review" -- ADN headline; ADN punctuation as received throughout]

[Excerpt] Berlin, 16 Jan (ADN) -- The front pages of the 16 January GDR press are devoted exclusively to the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, BERLINER ZEITUNG and JUNGE WELT prominently feature the text of the statement. Under the headline "Soviet Union's Comprehensive Proposals for Freeing the World of Nuclear Weapons," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND comments "Detailed, concrete, three-stage disarmament program submitted/ First stage: reduction of USSR and U.S. nuclear arms/ Second stage: inclusion of the other nuclear powers in the disarmament process/ Third stage: whole world to be freed of all nuclear weapons by the end of 1999/ arms race in space must be prevented/ extension of unilateral moratorium of the Soviet Union on nuclear tests until 31 March 1986/ Speediest possible, complete liquidation of chemical weapons under strict control/ reduction of numerical strength of troops in large-scale maneuvers."

SED MEMBERSHIP DEVELOPMENT SINCE 10TH CONGRESS

AU131734 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 9 January carries on page 3-4 the 3,500-word text of a "Report on the Development of SED Membership Since the 10th Party Congress and in 1985" that has been "submitted to and approved by the SED Central Committee Secretariat." This report, consisting of an introduction and 11 chapters, contains several tables on various aspects of membership structure.

The introduction says that "since the 10th SED Congress class structure of the party, its political maturity and fighting strength, discipline, and state of organization have been further consolidated," and that "leading party organs have effectively influenced the structure of the party rank since the 10th party congress, and have thus created decisive prerequisites for the successful implementation of its decisions." Societal highpoints such as the Karl-Marx Year (1983), the 35th GDR anniversary, the 40th anniversary of the liberation from Hitlerite fascism, the 12th FDJ Parliament, and the preparation for the 11th party congress have induced numerous GDR working people to seek admission to the party.

Chapter I stresses that "in implementing its party program the SED is paying great attention to ensuring the constant observance of the Leninist principle that the party's membership structure optimally enables it to carry out its growing leadership role in all sectors of society." At the end of 1985, the SED had 2,194,585 members and 98,704 candidate members -- that is, 2,293,289 members and candidate members organized in 58,573 basic organizations, of which 4,465 are subdivided into 27,937 departmental party organizations.

Chapter II gives, among other things, the following membership percentages: workers 58.2 percent in 1985, as against 57.6 percent at the time of the 10th party congress; cooperative peasants 4.8 percent in 1985, as against 4.7 percent; and members of the intelligentsia 22.4 percent in 1985, as against 22.1 percent.

Chapter III stresses the importance of the training and education of party members since the 10th party congress and gives the number of graduates from the higher party school at the end of 1985 as 15,143, and that of bezirk party school graduates as 162,068.

Chapter IV says that "the age structure of party members is characterized by a healthy and future-oriented development," and lists, among others, the following figures: members and candidate members under 25 years of age -- 295,945 or 12.9 percent; and over 65 years of age 252,288, or 11 percent.

Chapter V stresses the importance for the party's growing role of its deep roots in the workers class, stating that "the guideline of the 10th party congress to constantly also ensure the leading role of the workers class in our society in the social structure of party members has been consistently implemented." SED party members include 1,333,659 workers, 82,649 more than at the time of the 10th party congress.

Chapter VI gives the number of cooperative peasants as 110,724, as against 100,893 at the time of the 10th party congress, noting that "the successful implementation of the agricultural policy decided by the 10th party congress, that is being effected in close alliance with the class of the cooperative peasants, is also reflected in the strengthening of the party's ranks in the countryside."

Chapter VII states that "in compliance with the requirements of our further economic development" the party has "further strengthened its influence among the intelligentsia." "Altogether 875,064 comrades are graduates of universities and technical schools, including 371,834 university graduates."

Chapter VIII declares that "the social position of women in our socialist society is also reflected in the party membership structure," and gives the number of women members and candidate members as 814,290 -- 82,782 more than at the time of the 10th party congress.

Chapter IX says that "the regulation of its membership structure is an analienable principle for our Marxist-Leninist party, and an essential factor for increasing its fighting strength." "Every year, 80,000 members and candidate members of the party are being regrouped into other social categories, on the strength of changes in the nature of their work. Therefore, it is necessary to ensure the appropriate share of workers, especially of young production workers, among the candidate members that are admitted."

Chapter X which deals with the responsible work of party organizations to thoroughly prepare the candidate members for acquiring full-fledged membership, states that "through purposeful class-minded education, through active inclusion into party work in the period under review, it was possible to ensure the confirmation of 336,003 comrades as party members -- that is, more than 95 percent of the admitted candidate members."

The concluding chapter XI states that "since the 10th party congress a total of 232,172 comrades have left the party, including 142,144 through death," and adds: "to preserve the party's unity, purity, and cohesion as themost important prerequisite of its fighting power and strength, the basic organizations have carried out, on the basis of the party statute, 63,000 expulsions and cancellations. Moreover, 25,000 members have left the party of their own accord."

GORBACHEV ARMS PROPOSAL DRAWS COMMENT

'Military Expert'

LD160004 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2120 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Interview with "military expert" Lieutenant Colonel Gyorgy Szentsi by reporter Peter Nyaradi; place not specified -- live]

[Text] [Nyaradi] On Thursday [16 January], the Soviet-U.S. negotiations on nuclear and space weapons reopen in Geneva. This was to have been the topic of my conversation with Gyorgy Szentski. However, we have now received the news about Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals. Presumably, these proposals will influence the Soviet-U.S. negotiations, and not only the present talks in Geneva, but later talks as well. How new are these Soviet proposals?

[Szentsi] They are new inasmuch as they encompass a long-term program and deal not simply with the nearest issue -- that is, the most important issue, the restriction or reduction of the most dangerous nuclear weapons. The ultimate goal of these proposals is the elimination of all nuclear weapons on earth by the year 2000.

[Nyaradi] And how can these proposals change the forthcoming negotiations, those in Geneva and the other talks the Soviet Union and the United States will hold in the future on the question of dismantling armaments?

[Szentsi] They can do this by increasing confidence. The U.S. negotiating partner must recognize that the Soviet proposals put forward at the end of September, at the beginning of October, are not accidental, campaign-like proposals; their purpose is not to halt the U.S. SDI. Rather, these proposals which were put forward in October last year, represent the beginning of a process whose end can now be perceived by virtue of the new and complex Gorbachev proposals: a world free of nuclear weapons.

[Nyaradi] Indeed, Gorbachev says very specific things here; after all, he has set up a schedule. How new is this? How much of a change is this?

[Szentsi] In fact, the series of proposals put forward in concrete form the tasks for the period up to 2000, leading to the point where there will be no more nuclear weapons on earth. It has always been the goal of the Soviet disarmament strategy to create a world free of nuclear weapons. However, somehow the end was not really visible; it was somehow shrouded in fog, that somehow we shall ultimately reach a nuclear-free world. This new Soviet proposal is a concrete schedule in three stages. It is determined which weapons must be dismantled by what date, what has to be achieved by the end of each stage, when the next stage begins, and when and how it comes to an end. The end of the third stage is, as we have said before, the elimination of all nuclear weapons on earth.

[Nyaradi] When Gorbachev and Reagan met in Geneva they discussed the need to speed up the disarmament process. This Soviet proposal appears to fit into this framework.

[Szentsi] It must be said first of all that presumably these Soviet proposals will strengthen the confidence of the U.S. side. After all, the first stage of this complex, multistage proposal is precisely that which they are now dealing with, namely reducing by half the strategic weapons or, more precisely, the weapons capable of reaching each other's country, and reducing to 6000 the number of nuclear warheads capable of reaching each other.

Since the Soviet Union has expressed the view that the final goal is a world free of nuclear weapons, the United States can safely discard the SDI. If a world free of missiles, free of nuclear weapons, comes about, what need is there for the SDI? If the United States is capable of renouncing SDI and in view of the Soviet plan, the process can indeed by hastened. After all, the Soviet position is that strategic weapons capable of reaching each other's country can be reduced, that they can be significantly restricted, precisely if the United States renounces the implementation of its plans to deploy weapons in space.

[Nyaradi] Up to now, the Soviet position was that the U.S. program for the deployment of weapons in space did not necessarily have to be countered with a Soviet program to deploy weapons in space. Within this context, what does the new Soviet proposal indicate?

[Szentsi] I think it underlines unequivocally the Soviet view that the deployment of weapons in space cannot be an alternative to deterrence. In other words, the Soviet Union simply does not want to begin an arms race in space. It does not regard the development of a space-based defense system whose effectiveness and costs are not in proportion with each other as an alternative to deterrence, to the existence of the offensive weapons. Quite simply, it can not be assumed that such a defensive system will work the way it is planned. Thus, the Soviet Union is indeed offering a different alternative and this alternative is disarmament: a world entirely free of nuclear weapons.

[Nyaradi] The proposal to reduce by 50 percent in the first stage the weapons capable of reaching each other's country indicates a new approach.

[Szentsi] Clearly, there is some shift in the Soviet position. However, Gorbachev did say in Paris that it was necessary to adjust to the new situation that had been brought about by the nuclear missiles. This adjustment means that certain things have to be reevaluated from the military, military-political, and political points of view, looking at them in an entirely new way. I think this new Soviet proposal is part of this process. It considers that a significant reduction in the number of strategic offensive weapons can be coincided with the maintenance of security, international security, and in the final analysis with the preservation of the Soviet-U.S. strategic equilibrium, because these can be guaranteed with much fewer weapons, with fewer than half the weapons.

[Nyaradi] Does the new proposal influence the European situation, the question of European and global security?

[Szentsi] Certainly. One part of the proposal, and not even a very distant goal, is the dismantling of all the medium-range nuclear weapons deployed in Europe. I think it is not necessary to go into how greatly it would increase the security of Europe if we could be freed of these European strategic-type weapons on both sides.

[Nyaradi] Mikhail Gorbachev says in his proposals that he is putting them forward to the entire world and not merely to the United States. Obviously, this is based on the consideration that a number of countries already possess a nuclear striking force and some of these countries have not joined any international agreement. How do the new Soviet proposals affect the position of these countries?

[Szentsi] In the second stage the proposals would include these countries as well in the dismantling of nuclear weapons. I think this is realistic. After all, if these nuclear powers, above all Britain, France, and China, saw that the Soviet Union and the United States renounced a significant proportion of their nuclear weapons, they would themselves feel the necessity, first of all, not to develop their own nuclear weapons any further and then gradually to dismantle them. There have been French and Chinese hints along these lines, in other words, the possibility of joining a process of nuclear disarmament has been mentioned, if they saw a serious intention and significant reductions on the part of the two biggest nuclear powers.

[Nyaradi] How realistic are these new Soviet proposals?

[Szentsi] This will become clear in the period to come. After all, the seriousness of these proposals cannot be doubted. Whether these proposals can be implemented depends on how far the partner appears willing, on what sort of counterproposals it will put forward, or how far it is willing to enter into a discussion of these proposals and to participate, on the basis of these proposals, in the plan drawn up by Gorbachev.

[Nyaradi] Everything we have said so far presupposes a considerable increase in confidence, the existence of confidence. Can it be realistically said at the present time that this confidence exists?

[Szentsi] At the present time it is certainly not there. But confidence can be created with proposals like this one, with proposals based on concrete facts and specific time schedules, and the foundations of the confidence can thus be strengthened.

NEPSZABADSAG, Other Dailies

LD161305 Budapest MTI in English 1045 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI) -- "Programme for Peace," "Declaration of War Against Weapons," Thursday's Hungarian dailies carry such and similar headlines, and comment upon the new, imposing disarmament programme of the Soviet Government until the year 2000. All the central dailies of Hungary carry Mikhail Gorbachev's related statement in long, detailed, front-page articles.

NEPSZABADSAG writes that the large-scale programme is of great importance and goes far in compromise-seeking. The paper holds it as a merit that the proposals start from realities and take the views learned in the different talks into consideration. It meets some American, British, and French wishes half-way and greatly considers the aspects of the negotiating partners of the Soviet Union. The paper writes that the timing of the statement indicates the earnest will of the Soviet Union to attain the aims set by the summit in the new round of the Geneva talks which is to start now. NEPSZABADSAG points it out that the future of nuclear disarmament depends on the answer the addressees will give to the Soviet proposals. The leadership of the United States and the other nuclear-weapon states are now under the burden of making a highly responsible decision. NEPSZABADSAG states "The Soviet proposals for talks and agreement cannot be refused at all."

"Let's enter the third millenium without nuclear weapons," the commentator of MAGYAR HIRLAP sums up the point of the programme in that way. This unique programme is marked by a radically new approach, a deliberate system of long-term tasks. The Soviet leadership not only expounded its views about the aims and the ways of their realization, but also gave a new indication of its readiness for initiatives and compromises. This readiness is also reflected by the extension of the unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests. The paper states that the Soviet proposals greatly concern the European states. It is to be hoped that the proposals will make a favourable influence not only on the genuine talks of the two great powers but also those of small and middle-size states.

NEPSZAVA writes that the programme addressed to all humankind shows which steps the socialist great power is preparing for. The whole statement is marked by a desire for peace, which follows from the practice of Soviet foreign policy. It is surprising, however, that the Soviet Union put forward a new, more comprehensive and concrete programme after its several initiatives made in the past months had been left unanswered. The programme brings the averting of a nuclear catastrophe in a wonderful proximity. The proposals show that it does not depend on the Soviet Union whether there will be no longer nuclear weapons on the earth in 1999, and prove once again that the Soviet Union does not follow the "logic" of the arms race. It remains to be seen whether the United States and its allies would abandon that logic. If they insist on it, the plan will only remain a plan. The world expects an American answer as it hopes that all will realize that at the end of the second millenium it is high time to renounce the stone-age way of thinking.

"The Soviet foreign policy strives to make a flexible approach to the debated issues," MAGYAR NEMZET writes, adding that the Soviet statement came out in a very suitable time from the point of view of the psychology of international life. It is doubtless that the programme would be at once filled with valuable contents if the parties to the now beginning Geneva talks were able to make an advance as soon as possible. The paper states that, because of the extremely high level of armaments, a new approach should be made to the crucial issues of humankind: the aim is to put an end to the arms race, with equal security kept in view.

HUNGARIAN-SOVIET ECONOMIC, SCIENCE GROUP MEETS

Nemeth Receives Antonov

LD151325 Budapest MTI in English 1043 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI) -- On Wednesday Karoly Nemeth, deputy general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, met Aleksey Antonov, member of the CPSU CC and deputy chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, who is staying in Hungary on the occasion of the 34th session of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee for Economic, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation.

In cordial, comradely atmosphere the parties informed one another on the implementation of the resolution of the 13th HSWP Congress, and on preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress, and exchanged views on topical issues of Hungarian-Soviet economic relations. Present at the meeting were Jozsef Marjai, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Protocol Signed

LD151948 Budapest MTI in English 1744 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI) -- On Wednesday the 34th session of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Technical-Scientific Cooperation ended in Budapest with the signing of a protocol by Deputy Prime Ministers Josef Marjai of Hungary and Aleksey Antonov of the Soviet Union. Present were Laszlo Ballia, head of the Economic Policy Department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party; Laszlo Kapolyi, minister of industry; Lajos Urban, minister of transport; Jeno Vancsa, minister of agriculture and food; Boris Balmont, Soviet minister of the machine tool and instrument making industry; Vladimir Listov, minister of the chemical industry; Aleksey Petrishchev, minister for the production of chemical fertilizers; and several leading personalities of economic life. Also present was Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Budapest.

The session paid particular attention to the implementation of tasks laid down at the high-level economic conference of the member countries of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and the Hungarian-Soviet prime ministerial talks in November 1984. At the end of the talks agreements were signed on cooperation in the microelectronics industry, agro-industrial complexes, and the production of consumer goods.

A survey was made of the long-term development scheme of economic and technical-scientific cooperation until the year 2000 between the Hungarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. It was stated that the two countries' economic and technical-scientific cooperation is important in both economies, particularly for the Hungarian party.

The coordination of national economic plans, which was completed recently, laid the foundation for the further development of business ties. Over five years reciprocal goods deliveries are planned to reach the value of 51,000 million roubles.

It was reaffirmed at the session that the tasks set by the comprehensive programme on the technical-scientific progress of the CMEA countries until the year 2000 will be included in the technical-scientific cooperation between Hungary and the Soviet Union.

The 36 production specialization, cooperation, and economic agreements between sectors are considered important in Hungarian-Soviet economic cooperation, and serve as a basis for the steadily increasing goods exchange.

Specialization and cooperation agreements accounts for 38 percent of Hungarian exports and 14 percent of imports. Agreements extended up to 1990 cover the specialized and cooperative production of car industrial products and units, hydromechnical speed-gears, chemical products, painting equipment, refrigerators, instruments and complex laboratories, medical instruments, and machine tools. The agrochemical agreement was also expanded and prolonged until 1990 and the extension and preparations of further agreements for the next five-year plan period are under way.

Long-term cooperation programmes between sectors are being worked out simultaneously. Sectoral schemes signed at the recent session cover the chemical fertilizer industry, the chemical industry, the machine tool industry. the vehicle industry, mineral oil and chemical industrial machine production, the electronics industry, precision engineering, and the heavy-power industry.

Under an agreement on the cooperation of the two countries' technical-scientific experts on streamlining the use of energy, various methods are to be worked out for the utilization of agricultural wastes for energy purposes and the development of closed hydroenergetic systems. A new agreement was signed on the cooperative manufacture of electronic industrial measuring instruments. Agreements were signed on border-zone freight traffic by rail and the delivery of alum-earth and aluminium. On an earlier initiative of the Hungarian partner, the session discussed the conclusion of an all-round freight agreement to achieve progress in the field.

The session termed the participation of Hungarian companies in the reconstruction of Soviet industrial factories as successful. Hungarian work in the reconstruction of Soviet agricultural machine factories in Lvov, Odessa, and Moscow, which began recently, is expected to be worth some 150 million roubles over the next five years.

KADAR ON IMPORTANCE OF REAGAN-GORBACHEV SUMMIT

LD152224 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Statement by MSZMP Central Committee General Secretary Janos Kadar at the Taurus Rubber Industry Enterprise in Budapest on 15 January -- recorded]

[Text] You know that a summit meeting took place in Geneva between the leading representatives of the Soviet Union and the United States. Gorbachev and Reagan had talks and the Soviet Union represented our joint position there with our complete support. The Soviet Union recommended the hastening of negotiations, substantive negotiations, regarding all disputed issues and came forward with many sensible proposals.

We believe the summit meeting was a very important event because it has provided better conditions for us to progress toward a more secure and a more peaceful world. We believe that the world has reached a point where a great sense of responsibility must be manifested by all those -- irrespective of their country's social system -- who handle affairs. That is true for responsible leaders of large states, medium-size states, and small states and everyone must do everything possible to ensure that peace is victorious and that humanity is able to progress toward a calmer perspective, toward a safer, more peaceful future.

The Hungarian People's Republic does everything within its power, together with its allies, in the foreign policy sphere to develop a paramount interest: that our people, and peoples in general, are able to live in peace, progress, and enjoy the fruits of their own labor in peace, and that there is a better future for humanity. This is the international precondition for our work.

HORN VISITS CHINA, MEETS WU XUEQIAN, OTHERS

LD160043 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Peking, January 16 (MTI) -- Gyula Horn, member of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, state secretary for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, visited the People's Republic of China between January 10th and 15th. He was received by Wu Xueqian, member of the Political Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, councillor of state, minister of foreign affairs. He held talks with Deputy Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and Vice President of the State Economic Commission Zhu Rongji, as well as with leading representatives of the city of Shanghai.

At the meetings there was an exchange of views on the international situation, with particular respect to the maintenance of world peace and topical issues concerning the consolidation of international security. They examined the situation of relations between the two countries and chances for further development as well. Gyula Horn met with Zhu Liang, head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, with whom he discussed certain issues of concern to the two parties.

OVARI, VARKONYI RECEIVE PLO'S FARUQ QADDUMI

LD161006 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Text] Faruq Qaddumi, member of PLO Executive Committee and head of the Political Department, has had talks lasting 3 days in Budapest. The Palestinian leader was received by Miklos Ovari, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, Foreign Minister Peter Varkonyi, and Imre Pozsgay, secretary general of the Patriotic People's Front. He also had talks with Gabor Nagy, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

In the talks there was agreement that the only road that can lead to a just settlement of the Middle East crisis is the convening of an international conference in which all the interested parties, including the PLO, would participate. Faruq Qaddumi outlined the situation of the Palestinian movement. In this connection the Hungarian side stressed that there is a great need to restore the unity of the organization on an anti-imperialist basis.

CHEMICAL INDUSTRY WORK CONDITIONS CRITICIZED

LD141041 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 13 Jan 86

[Summary] At the congress of the workers of the chemical industry, which produces one-fourth of the total exports of Hungarian industry and 22 percent of the domestic industrial output, naturally great attention was paid to working conditions and technological safety.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] "Weighty critical remarks and demands have been made about the dangerous, unhealthy, and dirty workplaces that still exist in the chemical industry. Our basic position is that these workplaces must be gradually modernized to reduce or eliminate well-known dangers and harmful effects. However, as I mentioned already, because this policy of ours cannot be implemented in the short term, we must therefore examine how and under what conditions we can provide various favorable benefits, such as favorable retirement or extra vacations, to people working in such places." [end recording]

The congress supported the government's idea that money not only be taken away from enterprises giving above average results but will also be returned there for development. Ferenc Dajka was reelected secretary general of the Chemical Industry Workers Trade Union.

GORBACHEV ARMS PLAN OFFERS 'HISTORIC CHANCE'

LD161115 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 16 Jan 86

[Comment by Andrej Zychowicz]

[Text] Averting the threat to the world from the arms race, and particularly the nuclear arms race, requires bold decisions, decisions on a grand scale. Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev calls for such decisions to be made, presenting a program for freeing our planet of nuclear weapons in 15 years. The Soviet leader expresses the conviction that it is possible to achieve this goal. One only has to rise above national selfishness, as he said in his statement, above tactical calculations, differences and disputes. The Soviet proposal to eliminate nuclear weapons in three stages envisages a series of agreements based on the principle of the security of all states and the principle of a balance of power: agreements, therefore, which are mutually acceptable and strictly controlled. The implementation of the Soviet program will give mankind a historic chance to enter the third millenium without nuclear weapons. [The text of the Gorbachev statement is read after this news program]

REAGAN'S LIBYAN 'FEVERISH ADVENTURISM' ASSAILED

AU131511 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOCSCI in Polish 10 Jan 86 p 2

[Lieutenant Colonel Andrej Fryszkiewicz commentary: "Washington's (Anti)terrorist"]

[Text] When President Reagan announced economic sanctions against Libya as yet another element of the anti-Libyan campaign, he used the words "the face of justice." This time, too, the U.S. Government employed its unchangeable pattern in escalating the policy of "neoglobalism": threats, the gun boat policy, and restrictions.... If is true that Washington's feverish adventurism may produce the worst at any time, but neither the President nor Congress can afford the luxury of diktat with impunity. It is probable that the initial reaction of West European allies cooled off Reagan's bellicose posture, although he put on a "good face" when asked about U.S. reaction if the allies would refuse to join him on sanctions. But his face turned a little gloomy when he heard about the responses from Bonn, Rome, Athens, and The Hague. For example, the Dutch Government stated that the present Libyan-U.S. tension is not an adequate reason for militarily intervening in the affairs of a sovereign country or for joining U.S. sanctions against Libya. Madrid made a similar statement.

But even after this cold shower, as the Japanese paper ASAHI stated, Reagan continued to indulge in his extremely truculent and arrogant stance. When asked about West European reluctance and refusal to join him, he tried to frighten even his closest allies: This may be frustrating, but we intend to do whatever we think can be done.

This means that since many U.S. allies saw through the American strategy of "neoglobalism" and are not keen on joining it, the head of the Washington administration simply plays them down.

Nor does the President take account of his own citizens and their interests because he seriously threatened them with imprisonment for availing themselves of democratic and civic freedoms -- virtues for which he is supposed to fight. It is easy to imagine how "pleased" the average U.S. tourist must be with the fact that the U.S. President has "deleted" Libya from the map of the world. As for businessmen, no need to mention them. We know from our own experience -- from the compromising "lesson" that Reagan and his administration tried to teach our country -- what their situation is.

Almost immediately after the anti-Libyan sanctions were announced, most world media called Reagan a self-styled judge of the world and an executor of his own laws. No other name applies to the head of a power who, possessing the mightiest arsenal of death, publicly announces that if the sanctions are ineffective: "I promise you that further measures will be taken." We know what "measures."

There is another consistent feature of Reagan's behavior, about which we have often written: This time, too, "the national security and policy of the United States have been exposed to danger." The world heard this from the President who, as is fit for a typical tyrant, first makes decisions and then notifies Congress about them.

Reagan's logic of the absurd also involves the fact that, proclaiming himself the advocate of antiterrorism, he keenly continues to increasingly promote the policy of state terrorism, which is now part and parcel of the "development of correct relations" between the United States and other countries.

The TASS commentary unequivocally stresses Washington's complete lack of common sense and responsibility for world security, because it is not so much the hackneyed strategy of economic sanctions and blackmail as the attempts to internationalize conflicts that are the greatest threat to world peace. After all, Ronald Reagan openly threatened Libya with the use of force, which fact speaks for itself when we consider that the Geneva summit took place not so long ago.

We also recall how the West supported Reagan when he made a similar "gesture" vis-a-vis our country. However, today most West European countries are on the side of common sense. This fact will certainly make the "face of justice" gloomy through anger or frustration. Nor has Reagan foreseen that his drive for a new adventure will result in a surprisingly strong consolidation of the Islamic world. Another bucket of cold water was poured on the feverish head of Washington's "antiterrorist" in Fes, where 44 Islamic countries gave immediate and decisive support to Libya. Perhaps all these responses in the world to presidential arrogance and willfulness will be responsible for the fact that he will more rapidly withdraw from the dangerous course he embarked upon when he announced the brutal sanctions against Libya.

WEST EUROPE SIDESTEPPING U.S. LIBYAN SANCTIONS

LD151741 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Andrzej Zychowicz commentary]

[Text] The war of nerves against Libya is intensifying. The U.S. aircraft carrier Saratoga will enter the Mediterranean today or tomorrow, to back up the 6th Fleet which is in full battle readiness off the Libyan coast. The Pentagon has announced that the aircraft carrier Coral Sea, which operates in the troublespot, sent two F-18 planes to intercept Libyan planes over the Mediterranean. Fortunately, there was no encounter, but this type of action creates the danger of an outbreak of military operations on a large scale. Simply, they can become the pretext for a larger operation.

In this atmosphere, special U.S. emissary Deputy Secretary of State Whitehead, began his trip to Canada and Western Europe today, to get the allies' support for the economic sanctions introduced by President Reagan. Washington, which attempted to isolate Libya in the international arena, suddenly stood alone with its economic restrictions. The West European states, even if they verbally express their solidarity with the United States, firmly disassociate themselves from any sort of sanctions.

Even the closest ally, Great Britain, does not intend to follow in Washington's footsteps. Also, FRG Chancellor Kohl, who since he took power in 1982, has never once opposed U.S. policy, said a firm no this time, causing real irritation across the ocean. Italy's stance is characteristic in this sort of situation. True, Rome has banned the sale of arms to Libya, but it has refused to join the sanctions. The Egyptian paper AL-AHRAM today carries an interview with Italian Premier Bettino Craxi in which he says that the Americans acted wisely in not attacking Libya. I think that this remark should be treated as a sort of warning to Washington, at a time when U.S. Armed Forces are concentrating in the Mediterranean and tension is rising. Craxi comes out very strongly against any kind of armed operation against Libya, saying in his interview that armed intervention, will not solve the political problem and will not be a safeguard against terrorism.

RESCHEDULING OF OVERDUE WESTERN DEBT SOUGHT

Trade Surplus Falls Short

AU141314 Paris AFP in English 1257 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14 (AFP) -- Poland had a trade surplus of 1.08 billion dollars last year with the West instead of a hoped-for 1.55 billion dollars, the Central Statistics Office said today.

The results mean that Poland is still unable to honour its debt repayments falling due, the country's debt to the West being an estimated 30 billion dollars, Western sources said. Last year, it should have paid out 550 million dollars in interest for 1982-84 to 17 Western countries, but failed to meet the requirement in full, the sources said.

Polish officials said they could not meet their commitments in full because they failed to obtain new credits they see as vital for reimbursing Poland's debt.

The Warsaw authorities are hoping to renegotiate the matter in the next few weeks, the sources said.

Negotiations In Paris

AU151122 Paris AFP in English 1108 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 14 (AFP) -- Poland is asking for rescheduling of 550 million dollars in debts that it should have paid back to 17 Western countries on December 1, Finance Minister Stanislaw Nieckarz said today.

Negotiations will shortly take place with the Paris Club of creditors, he said. This would amount to rescheduling debt already rescheduled last summer. Poland's total debt is an estimated 30 billion dollars.

Mr. Nieckarz said: "Under Paris Club arrangements we should have got new credit last year of 600 to 800 million dollars, but we received only 200 million. That is why we had to postpone repayment of the 550 million dollars falling due."

Unofficially, it is estimated that Poland needs about one billion dollars of new credit in 1986. This year it will probably be able to pay back two billion dollars including 1.6 billion to commercial banks.

ORZECHOWSKI ACCEPTS INVITATION TO VISIT GDR

LD151833 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Marian Orzechowski will pay an official friendly visit to the GDR 16-17 January, at the invitation of Oskar Fischer, GDR minister for foreign affairs.

MIKLOS VISITS, LEADS RELIGIOUS POLICY TALKS

LD160023 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Warsaw, January 15 (MTI) -- From January 13th to 15th Imre Miklos, Hungarian state secretary, president of the State Office on Church Affairs visited Poland at the head of a delegation, where he held an exchange of experience on the exercise of policy on religion.

Imre Miklos supplied information on the relationship between the Hungarian state and the churches in Hungary to the Polish State Office on Church Affairs, and met with Bishop Janusz Narzynski, head of the Polish Ecumenical Council, spoke with the heads of the Caritas Catholic Association and the Jewish religious community, and the President of the Pax Assocation Zenon Komender. He paid a visit to Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, general secretary of the Polish Catholic Bishops' Bench, who is a member of the mixed commission consisting of representatives of the government and the Catholic Church. Present at the meeting was Adam Lopatka, director of the Polish State Office on Church Affairs.

Imre Miklos was received by Jozef Baryla, secretary of the Central Committe of the Polish United Workers' Party.

JARUZELSKI SPEAKS AT DIPLOMATIC CORPS MEETING

LD152328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1825 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Address by Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic at his New Year's meeting with the heads of diplomatic offices accredited in Poland at the Office of the Council of State on 15 January -- recorded]

[Text] Mr Neubauer, [GDR envoy and doyen of diplomatic corps in Warsaw] Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen.

Thank you very much for the greetings conveyed to me a moment ago by His Excellency Ambassador Neubauer, the doyen of the diplomatic corps.

I accept them as a proof of friendship for our nation and respect for our state, the Polish People's Republic. I also sincerely want to reciprocate them. I convey New Year's greetings to all peoples and governments that you represent. I wish every success to the ambassadors accredited to Poland, their wives, families, and collegues.

I am meeting the diplomatic corps for the first time since the Sejm entrusted me with the responsibilities of Council of State chairman. I am satisfied with today's meeting, the opportunity for personal contact and for an exchange of thoughts and opinions. It is obvious that many among us here have different ideas and views. Interests of particular countries are seldom convergent, sometimes even diametrically opposed. If it were different, diplomats would probably not be needed to such an extent.

However, there exists one deep conviction, which I believe, we all share: namely, that saving mankind from the cataclysm of war can only be based upon a joint act, one built on respect of sovereignty and of different ways and aims, on mutual understanding. This must precede true accord always and everywhere.

Ladies and gentlemen, dangers to peace and mankind's fate, the unabated arms race, the true danger of its extension into space, local conflicts, the universally known examples of pressure and threats, and interference in the internal affairs of nations and states, still persist. However, the last months of the past year and the Geneva meeting in particular have brought about an improvement in the international climate. The lack of sense and the harm of cold war rhetoric have become more visible. An alternative for detente has been outlined more clearly. Bold and constructive Soviet initiatives are a proper platform for building a better and safer future for the world. Poland is attentively following and actively supporting all positive trends. We have well-known historical and contemporary reasons to do that. Our nation and states are interests inseparably linked with the policy of consolidating peace; thus, with the stability of the post-war territorial and political order in Europe, that has been built since Tehran, through Yalta, Potsdam, San Francisco, up to Helsinki. Every attempt to question and undermine it is directly or indirectly against Poland's national interests. This makes our country a natural ally of any realistic trend seeking detente and consolidating international security, and simultaneously a natural opponent of these forces and concepts that would reverse what is irreversible, also at Poland's expense. There is no reason why I should elaborate more extensively on this basic truth.

However, I repeat this truth because it has the significance fundamental to our foreign policy in the new year as well. New prospects currently are appearing for dialogue and European cooperation. However, as a result of disruptions during the first half of the eighties, much still remains to be done. We intend to participate actively in this task, hoping that feelings of the continent's historic, economic, and cultural community is still sufficiently strong within the countries of the West as well. Poland will continue its traditional role of an open and credible partner in international life. Our country's significance in European politics is not the result of only historical conditions and the specific geographical location resources, and economic resources, it also results from Poland's unwavering activity in the last 40 years for the sake of constructing and strengthening the foundations of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among nations. The historical experience simultaneously proves that one cannot build any type of stable European edifice in spite of Poland or, even more so against Poland in the long term.

Our state's foreign policy line is lasting and consistent. Its implementation means strengthening the fraternal allied bonds with the socialist community, intensifying friendly cooperation with the nonaligned, neutral, and developing countries, and maintains good, equal, and mutually beneficial relations with the countries of the West. We hope that all those present here, all diplomatic representatives, will in their opinions and actions be supportive of our efforts aimed at increasing confidence and developing mutual relations. We base this confidence on the experience of many years. It tells us that nearly every objective and honest foreigner, who had the chance to have a longer contact with Polish reality and daily life, better understands our problems and our policy's line.

The exceptions are not very numerous and rather infamous. I will not discuss, at this opportunity today, the attempts to isolate Pland or the so-called restrictions. The judgement on this policy by wide-ranging circles of our society is unanimously negative. It brought about the losses of many billions [currency not specified].

These losses were very difficult for our country and were felt by every Polish family. However, this did not bring about the intended political effects and I give you my assurance that it will not bring such effects in the future. On the other hand, it most certainly is contributing to strengthening the bonds with the tested friends and to gaining new friends on all continents.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, everyone present here most likely knows the first words of our national anthem [Poland has not perished yet]. They were born in tragic times for Poles, following the fall of Poland and at the threshold of slavery which lasted 100 years. They shone for the uprisings and accompanied many Polish generations when Poland was supposed to have been annihilated and the governments of all the European powers agreed to wipe out our state from the continent's political map. These words are being repeated by us today with the same pride and emotion. Today, however, we understand the term has not perished yet in a different way. The contemporary Polish state in its just borders and in its progressive political system is an irreversible historic fact. Its foundations are made up of patriotism, revolutionary socialist transformations, and the achievements of the whole nation's work. The safeguard of its security is the Warsaw Pact and the supportive policy of the states of the socialist community. We are accompanied by an unswerving certainty that the nation which has suffered so much and spilled so much blood can face any difficult test. This also has been proved in the last few years. They were often clouded by bitterness and disappointment, but on an historic scale they meant that even in such dramatic bad fortune Poland is able to extricate itself by its own forces. When the fate of the fatherland is at stake, Poles, their decisive majority, can amaze both friends and enemies by the proof of their patriotic wisdom and maturity. Those few incapable of this are often knocking about for decades in the museums of history as the embittered and notorious clients of the foreign courts.

Things are still difficult for us. But whoever is carefully and objectively watching the development of the situation can give eyewitness testimony that last year, the year of elections to the Sejm, brought about further progress, and created the chance for the government to concentrate on the vital issues of the economy; created for the organs of representation the possibility of further improving the socialist democracy; and created for the leadership force, the party, the possibility of preparing for the 10th congress, the creative conduct and results of which will map out our country's development prospects. We believe 1986 will produce successful economic results and accelerate scientific and technological progress and bring about further positive steps in the work of normalization, national agreement, and socialist renewal. The social, political, and economic process we are perfecting is also in the well-understood interest of other nations, because it strengthens our country's credibility as a partner and constitutes an important factor in European stabilization as well as contributing to making peace permanent.

Your Excellency, ladies and gentlemen, I wish to address you in conclusion with a personal reflection. We are aware that your duties are not easy and require special responsibility and farsightedness. In the spirit of international conventions and along the principle of mutuality, we are trying to make it easier for you to perform your tasks. Poland is and has always been a complicated but interesting country. It can be assessed from various points of view and differing conclusions can be reached on this basis. However, a certain certainty exists which has never failed anyone yet; namely, the fact that everything that happens here will be decided in the final reckoning by the supreme good of the nation and the permanence of our state -- the Polish People's Republic.

JARUZELSKI CHAIRS PZPR PROGRAM MEETING

LD102217 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 10 Jan 86

[Text] The commission appointed for working out a draft program of the PZPR has assessed its achievements today in Warsaw. The deliberations were chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski. The commission had been appointed by the fourth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in October 1981. A draft program was thoroughly discussed at the second national Party Ideological and Theoretical Conference.

During today's discussion, commission members pointed out the particular importance of the document. This is the first party program developed during the continuing process of normalization.

In his address, Wojciech Jaruzelski referred to remarks and suggestions expressed in the discussion. He stressed the importance of the great job performed by the commission and its editorial team. Work on the draft program has not yet been completed at today's meeting; it will continue until the 10th congress and at the congress itself. The commission authorized the Politburo to present the draft PZPR program together with its recommendations to the Central Committee at the 24th plenum.

FINANCE MINISTER SEES DEFICIT REMAINING AFTER '86

LD142353 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 14 Jan 86

[Report by Minister of Finance Stanislaw Nieckarz on "state financial policy" -- live or recorded]

[Text] Although many problems will remain unsolved or will be difficult to solve in 1986, we should see a further improvement in the country's financial situation. The positive trend aimed at achieving an improvement in the country's financial equilibrium should be consolidated. The state budget, unfortunately, is still in deficit from last year, although the deficit structure is complex, because we have, on the one hand, surpluses in regional budgets and a deficit in the central budget. I do not think we will be able to balance the budget in 1986, because certain events in recent years in the field of social policy determine that. One can say here, however, that there should be a positive trend, minimizing the deficit in the state budget.

The state's payments situation not only has a bearing on the state budget, which is a synthetic (?expression) of the economic situation, but also on the whole structure of our economy and its development potential, both in 1986 and in the long term. As regards the free currency area, the country's debt is growing, despite partial payment of that debt, because we are simply not even paying all the interest that should be paid in a given year. These payments are high, in the region of $3 billion a year. We cannot at the moment, however, allow the standard of living to be brought down to enable us to meet the debt punctually. We are thus taking various measures. First, we are signing agreements with creditors on rescheduling our debt.

Second we are taking numerous measures aimed at increasing potential and exports, because in the final reckoning it is only by stepping up exports that we can settle the problem of indebtedness in the long term.

We assume that the general increase in prices this year should close with the index of from 8.5-9 percent. One must add here that there will be a greater increase in the population's money incomes. In connection [word indistinct] with the gossip or rumours which reach me about horrific price increases which are planned, these rumours are simply not justified and there are no such plans.

URBAN HOLDS FIRST 1986 TALK WITH FOREIGN PRESS

LD072208 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 7 Jan 86

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Jan -- Polish Government spokesman Minister Jerzy Urban today held here his first in this year press conference for foreign newsmen accredited in Poland. The questions asked mainly concerned recent events in Poland, among them, prices hikes of some articles, Poland's economic situation, retrial of the case of Michnik, Lis, and Frasyniuk. As concerns international issues, Urban answered questions concerning the prospects for establishing relations between Poland and Israel, the situation in the region of the Mediterranean Sea, and the forthcoming session of the Polish-French mixed commission.

Minister Urban also referred to the restrictions imposed by the American side on the personnel of the Polish diplomatic missions in the U.S. "We warned the American side that Poland would have to take proper steps if the U.S. side did not cease introducing unjustified obstructions limiting the freedom of movement of Polish representatives in the United States. If those discriminatory moves are maintained the rule of reciprocity will be executed", stressed Urban.

Next, Minister Urban answered a question about the government's allegedly stepped up actions to strengthen discipline of the state administration. "This is permanent activity that does not consist in any public actions. This is a continuous process of upgrading administrative actions and combating red tape symptoms," Urban said.

One of the questions concerned also progress in investigation into the beating up of Father Zaleski at the start of December 1985. "Investigation is still under way and the perpetrators have not been found, Minister Urban said. There (?is no) point in speculating on this subject in any way. As it is possible, we will reveal further details of investigation".

Minister Urban also answered a question about screening Claude Lanzmann's "Shoah" in Poland. "Shoah" was shown here for 19 days and 7,300 people saw it at 72 showings, which accounted for 30 per cent of places at Cinema hall. The film will now be shown in Krakow.

Western journalists discussed also the resignation of Andrzej Perczynski from the post of Polish TV's general director. The resignation that director Perczynski tabled is examined and the fact whether it is accepted is to be announced soon. This publicly tabled resignation is a good precedent indicating the sense of responsibility before public opinion for issues related to public broadcasting," Minister Urban stressed. [no opening quotation mark as received]

He explained that director Perczynski's resignation was linked solely to bad technical quality of the TV and radio broadcast of the New Year's interview with General Jaruzelski.

TRYBUNA LUDU ON SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN 1985

AU090904 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 31 Dec 85-1 Jan 86 p 3

[Jerzy Majka article: "The Year 1985 in Poland"]

[Excerpts] The position of the workers' class rose in 1985. The views expressed by workers at Central Committee and regional party meetings shaped party opinion and positions on matters of the greatest importance. Workers' representation on people's councils and in the newly-elected Sejm has increased, as has workers' influence on the work of representative organs.

However, a section of the workers' class does not believe that it has an influence on decisions which concern matters of national importance. Perhaps the reason for this is that the workers' aktivs are involved in the governing process. Most of the workforce remains on the sidelines. Nobody asks them for their opinions, nobody explains to them the complex factors which make superficially simple matters complicated. Critical views expressed by workers do not always meet with an energetic response.

The precise definition of the place and tasks of the intelligentsia in the development of socialist Poland and the emphasis placed on the role of science, technological innovation, and creative thought as factors which will determine faster progress at the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum was the party's answer to the intelligentsia's worries, an answer in keeping with public expectations. The detailed program adopted by the Central Committee in this area has stimulated the intellectual community into activity. This is attested to by the intelligentsia's growing involvement in activities initiated by the party.

Last year brought progress in the perfecting of socialist democracy. With the accession of the Central Committee first secretary to the office of chairman of the State Council the status of representative bodies as organs of socialist power has been significantly raised. People's councils made full use of their extended powers for the first time and managed regional budgets. The new electoral code increased citizens' influence on the composition of the membership of the Sejm. Irrefutable proof of this is provided by the fact that a significant number of social organizations made use of the opportunity to nominate Sejm deputy candidates and by the influence that citizens' consultative meetings had on the electoral lists that were finally drawn up.

However, a considerable section of society believes that it does not have an influence on the government of the country. To some extent this opinion is supported by the fact that, in practice, the democratic framework guaranteed by the law is not exploited to the full. But one can also conclude from this that representative democracy does not satisfy society's aspirations for subjectivity. We attach insufficient weight to various forms of participatory democracy. Contrary to political and statutory principles the executive organ is considered the self-governing unit and not the factory or region community. Matters pertaining to the duty to conduct social consultations also need to be defined more precisely. Consultations on decisions whose results are determined by objective economic factors miss the point. A democratic political culture ought to be cultivated more effectively. The belief that winning public support for a draft decision makes its implementation fundamentally easier and prevents mistakes and public discontent ought to take root in executive organs and administrative bodies. The view that individual judgements are subject to verification by objective factors and the opinion of the majority ought to be developed in society.

The results of public opinion polls confirm that the process of national accord and acceptance of the Ninth PZPR Congress line have increased. Public confidence in the Sejm and the government has increased significantly over the past year. The Polish Army's popularity has also grown. Belief in our ability to overcome present day difficulties more and moreeffectively has also grown. In 1985 the majority of the public placed hopes for the fulfillment of its expectations in the policy pursued by the party after the ninth congress. One can say that the report prepared by the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth National Council will generate a new impetus in this area.

Progress in national accord process was aided by the fruitlessness of the efforts made by opponents of stabilization and the foreign anti-Polish centers which inspire them. None of their slogans and calls has been echoed by society or have enjoyed public support. In spite of the progress which has been made in recent years, life for working people in Poland continues to be hard. It is not so easy to make up for the 24 percent decline in national income or the consequences of the foreign debt of the 1970s. At meetings during the Sejm election campaign, attended by 5 million people, two matters related to the standard of living came to the fore: a review of pensions and the need for more housing.

The first matter will be tackled this coming year. As for the second matter, we still face the task of finding reserves which would enable us to overcome those obstacles which impede the implementation of social and factory initiatives. A thorough examination of this problem by the leadership of the party, government, and trade unions raises hopes that greater success will be encountered in the search for appropriate solutions.

We are summing up another year but the same complaints and criticisms have appeared in letters sent to the Central Committee, regional party cells, and the editors of the party press. These complaints and criticisms concern: the treatment of employees and employees' affairs in a manner which is offensive to human dignity, affairs dealt wtih by offices in an uncaring and long, drawn out fashion, lesser and greater injustices, examples of favoritism and dishonesty. Despite the constancy with which the Central Committee has once again discharged its duty of responding quickly and conscientiously to citizens' complaints, to press criticism, and the opinions of working people the results are not pleasing. At the 23rd Central Committee Plenum Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed once again that it is the party's duty to be resolute in its determination not to tolerate all forms of wrong-doing.

Every matter can be judged from the point of view of a society or the individual. And that is also true of the year that is now drawing to a close. The two judgments do not have to coincide. The judgment of a particular person will always concern his personal situation. And that situation frequently does not correspond to the average. Thus 1985 has been a different year for each of us -- for some of us better one, for others a worse one. Despite all the setbacks, and the knowledge that many unresoved problems and difficult matters remain, the year for Poland was essentially a good one.

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS PROMPT DISCUSSIONS

By Government Presidium

LD140043 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Jan 86

[Text] The Government Presidium discussed demography today. It is forecast that at the threshold of the 21st century Poland's population will be 40 million.

There are 37,064 million of us Poles. Over the last year 318,000 citizens were born; 60 percent live in towns but since 1975 fewer and fewer people move to towns. In 1984 the pre-production population grew by 179,000 people -- that is from 0-17 years of age. The oldest group of people -- women and men from 60 years of age onward -- has also grown. For every 1,000 citizens who are professionally active there are 1,045 who are professionally inactive. Thus, the number of people who are not yet working or already not working is growing. This, consequently, should mean persons in work making more effort.

The demographic situation of the state was one of the subjects at today's meeting of the Government Presidium. Its participants gathered in the Lantern Hall of the Office of the Council of Ministers shortly before 1500. The results of the 41st extraordinary CEMA session were discussed today. The Government Presidium expressed full approval for the comprehensive program of scientific and technical development until the year 2000 which was adopted at that session and for its resolution.

The joint implementation of the comprehensive program is expected to enable the Polish economy to catch up with the technological level faster than would be possible if we were on our own, and more effectively overcome the difficulties caused by the hostile economic restrictions by the West.

It was decided that obligations arising from the agreements and contracts that have been signed concerning the implementation of the joint program will be included in the draft socioeconomic plan for 1986-90 and in the drafts of the central annual plans.

Next, the Government Presidium discussed assumptions of the plan of spatial economy of Poland until 1995.

The implementation of motions and postulates addressed to units of the state administration in the course of the Sejm election campaign was also discussed.

People's Mood Assessed

LD160040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] What is the social mood and what are the political views of Poles? These were discussed at a conference for home and foreign journalists in the government's Press Office. Grazyna Zielinska is talking to Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center:

[Zielinska] Colonel, in speaking about the social mood, you said, that they have about them something of a game of roulette. What does this mean?

[Kwiatkowski] I was trying to say in a descriptive way that there is a mood of anticipation and waiting in hope, but there is also a sense of insecurity. The source of the anxiety is, above all, the material situation, although some are worried by the political situation and even they perceive a clear change for the better. But as regards the material situation, then those -- and this is understandable -- who are doing badly or only average are afraid, but equally afraid are those who are doing relatively well. Nearly one-half of society defines its material situation as medium and average, and one-third as bad. And so, everything revolves around three matters, if the mood and the state of social opinion are to be characterized. This concerns the relation between prices, wages, and what happens at work.

Price policy does not evoke such passion any more, because people realize that it is not so much prices that matter, but wages and what can be bought for those wages, and the conviction is universally gaining ground that wages depend upon what happens at work.

[Zielinska] And are there any results concerning the political activity of our society? Are we active?

[Kwiatkowski] We do not have that many political activists, because the figure is somewhere about 15 percent -- 16 percent at the most -- of the adult population. The majority, that is, more than 40 percent, interests itself in politics from time to time; It follows only the most important events. The rest simply say politics do not interest them at all, and they rather avoid politics. There is significantly greater interest in international politics. This can be illustrated by the example of society's interest in General Jaruzelski's visits abroad. For example, more than 70 percent of persons surveyed were interested in his visit to France.

[Zielinska] In your questionnaires, you also asked what people were expecting from 1986, that is, this year. What takes the lead in these expectations?

[Kwiatkowski] Above all it is expected that the new government will halt the unfavorable phenomena which are present in society. And here, the greatest number of complaints concerns drunkenness and alcoholism -- 61 percent of those surveyed. In second place is bribery, corruption, idleness, and wastage, with over 44 percent. Nepotism and elitism are equally high, as are the defective organization of the economy, the bad work of offices and institutions, and only after this comes the abuse of power at nearly 37 percent.

CZYREK ANSWERS WORKERS HOUSING QUESTIONS

LD132323 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 13 Jan 86

[Text] Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and secretary of the Party Central Committee paid a visit to Rzeszow today. Before noon he met with the voivodship aktiv. In the afternoon, Jozef Czyrek took part in a meeting of his own primary party organization which represents the 53d section of the Rzeszow communications equipment works [WSK].

During the discussion, the participants in the meeting asked questions about matters relating to their own works and also touched upon national questions.

[Begin recording] [question] Comrade secretary, I can not imagine that housing construction undertaken by enterprises will develop further if the system currently in force remains as it is. Because what guarantees will the enterprise have if it spends huge sums of money from its housing fund and after a period of 5 years not a single employee lives in these flats? [sentence indistinct] [end recording]

Jozef Czyrek, secretary of the Party Central Committee, spoke about questions of nationwide significance.

[Begin Czyrek recording] If someone has been given a flat belonging to the WSK and he changes his job and goes to work for the Zelmer works because for one reason or another he likes it better there, then the Zelmer works would buy this flat for him; that is to say the WSK Mielec works would be reimbursed for all the costs invested in this flat.

This does not solve the matter entirely, since it may well pay for some to buy flats in this way and (?have a new employee). The matter is under examination now and will be resolved. We shall probably not find ideal solutions, but we must create protection for what belongs to the enterprises and for the housing construction they undertake. [end recording]

SCHOLAR CONSIDERS 'IDEOLOGICAL GAP' OF YOUTH

AU090953 Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 10

[Article by Professor Jaroslaw Ladosz, deputy head of the Philosophy and Sociology Institute of the PZPR Social Sciences Academy: "Is There an 'Ideological Gap' in the Case of Young People?"]

[Excerpts] The term "ideological gap] continues to be used in describing the ideological situation of the young generation growing up during the 1980-81 crisis and during the overcoming of this crisis. This is an incorrect and erroneous term. It suggests a faulty diagnosis of and faulty remedies against the fact that the coinfidence of large group of young people in socialism and its prospects has been weakened.

First, there is no ideological "gap" in the heads of young people, no ideological vacuum that has to be filled up. Nothing of the kind. What there is can be described as succumbing to nonsocialist ideology and as appropriating it as one's own. This means our task is not to fill up that "gap" with socialist ideology, but to promote socialist ideology in our struggle against alien ideology.

Undoubtedly, this alien ideology is mostly incoherent and difficult to identify under a single "ism." It is also true that it believes in negation and is feebly integrated. Some people succumb to its myth of Pilsudski or of the National Democrats [prewar rightwingers] on a scale that was impossible in the case of the old generation. Some people show symptoms of savage nationalism and some assume the attitudes of living for the present and not caring for the future, which leads to mysticism and the contemplation of the inner world through aggressive clericalism. This ideology is used in various ways to justify a social petit bourgeois attitude.

Second, if we view that "gap" not as a vacuum, but as a gap in our efforts to propagate and consolidate socialist philosophy, then this gap exists among young people as well as "old ones." Applying the term "gap" only to young people suggests that there is some ideological conflict between generations. This is a false diagnosis.

Third, we are being threatened by the consolidation of ideological attitudes unfavorable to socialism, by the appearance of a "lost generation," by a "gap" in the socialist commitment to the construction of Poland, and by the marking of time by socialist renewal. The young generation did not experience the revolutionary commitment to and the joy of building a new system, but many young active people experienced the defeat of the counterrevolution, to whose ideological whisperings they succumbed with greater ease than the older people, who had a firmer belief in the renewal of socialism when the crisis was over. We are being threatened by the consolidation of these differences and by the prolongation of the frustration dominating large groups of young people.

What is the way out of this situation? Some people think that we should wait and should not rub the wounds because time would heal them. I do not think that this is the best way out for our future and for our young people.

If this kind of ideological crisis between generations is not a universal crisis, the way out of it is not to wait and see, but to take the initiative.

Above all, we need to actively eliminate the "gap" among "teachers" and within the party regarded as a great teacher. We should also raise demands on regular teachers in connection with their duty to promote socialist upbringing. We possess instruments of cadre policy and we have means of controlling the implementation of school curricula in the spirit of national agreement. We have every condition to positively demonstrate to the young that true patriotism is now inseparable from socialism and that delays in socialist construction endanger our people's place among the world's nations. It is necessary for teachers to study Marxism-Leninism for the second time, but this time more thoroughly and flexibly from the angle of their own experience and of the dangers lurking in this world. They should improve their knowledge and teach the young or, which could be better, study Marxism -Leninism together with the young.

Every primary party organization, not only the teachers' party organizations, should have programs for ideological work with young people, who should develop their own ideological work in their own organizations and promote mass training in Marxism-Leninism, the party program, and the CPSU new program. This work has been thoroughly neglected for several decade! Recently a pseudo-theoretical justification has been advanced for this neglect, namely, that our school is now wholly socialist and is able to "ensure" ideological upbringing. Today, when the falsehood of this assertion has become glaringly obvious, no rapid and specific lessons are being learned and no action is being taken. The Union of Socialist Polish Youth is not at all enthusiastic about vigorous training work to meet the needs of socialism in our situation. It is better not to speak about the ZSP [Union of Polish Students] because it has consciously left out the adjective socialist in its name. The Polish Scout Union has no socialist program for the ideological training of staffs and children.

Someone may say: Perhaps we should wait and see and not rush! Perhaps we should wait until we have shaken off the crisis, and then we will draw the young into invigorating activities to renew and expand socialism. In such a case it will be easier to promote ideological work through these activities.

I think that we must not wait because there is nothing brilliant about our future in the next few years and because we should not expect making "great leaps." A difficult future is awaiting us. It is high time for the socialist youth unions to take a militant stance on the need to intensify the socialist contents of school curricula and to combat whatever is against national agreement along the road to socialist renewal.

PRESS ARTICLES FOCUSED ON ENERGY PROBLEM IN DEC

AU091414 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA and ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian throughout December 1985 continue to carry items on energy issues at the local level, ranging from 1,000 to 2,500 words. For the first 2 weeks of the month the articles are carried almost every day and thereafter are carried less frequently. They are published under one of the following three headlines: "Energy -- A Vital Problem of the National Economy and All of Us"; "Energy -- A Problem of Maximum Importance and a Concern of Maximum Responsibility"; and "Energy -- Rigorously Husbanded and Strictly Saved."

Some of the articles are signed by SCINTEIA correspondents while others are signed by different authors, whose positions are not specified. Most of the items are carried inside the papers.

The authors describe "effective measures" to properly utilize electrical power, "noteworthy achievements" in reducing energy consumption and in the use of resources that have not been utilized completely, and deal with order and discipline as a precondition to boost the activity of thermal power plants. They also stress the need to work out new concepts to reduce electrical power consumption; save electricity and natural gases; maintain coal quality; increase coal mining rates; modernize technologies as an important source of saving energy; and save and recycle materials as a means of balancing the energy base.

The issues of the papers in the period 1-8 January, while they have carried two short energy-related items, have not carried any further articles under the above headlines.

PARTY EXTOLS ELENA CEAUSESCU ON BIRTHDAY

AU091322 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 8 Jan 86 p 1

[Text] Much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu,

On your birthday, with special feelings of esteem, respect, and appreciation, we would like to convey to you, from the bottom of our hearts, warm greetings and a long and glorious life, in complete health and happiness by the side of the much beloved and esteemed leader of our party and state and brilliant founder of the Socialist Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

We all take particular pleasure in taking the opportunity of this anniversary to pay ardent homage to you and to express our, all the Communists', and the entire nations' high appreciation for the longlasting and fruitful activity you have carried out in the revolutionary movement and in our party and state leadership for the well-being and happiness of the Romanian people, for successfully building socialism and communism on the dear soil of our homeland, and for achieving social progress and peace throughout the world.

Within the ranks of our party and people there is a unanimous acknowledgement of the contribution, full of high competence and communist responsibility -- as a member of the Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee and in your functions as first deputy prime minister of the Government -- you made to draft and implement the great plans and programs of socioeconomic development of our homeland, to improve the organization and management of the society, to continuously improve scientific research and broadly apply its results in production, and to unflinchingly implement the program of building the comprehensively developed socialist society in Romania and the country's progress toward communism.

The entire country highly appreciates the outstanding activity you carry out in the field of science and technology, the greatly important contribution you make -- as an eminent and worldwide known scientist -- to ensure the development and flourishing of the Romanian scientific thinking, education, and culture and to unite and organize the forces within these important fields of activity aimed at ensuring the many-sided prgress of our socialist fatherland, enriching the cultural life, and broadening the horizon of knowledge and culture of the entire nation. Your valuable work -- crowned by the high distinctions and titles awarded to you by some prestigious scientific, cultural, and educational institutions from various countries of the world -- represents, much to the pride of all our people, a greatly important contribution to ensure the flourishing of the national and universal science and culture, as a brilliant example of revolutionary abnegation and deep concern with the cause of Socialist Romania's flourishing and the cause of all the nation's progress and civilization.

Your appointment to the function as chairman of the National Council of Science and Education -- at a time when scientific research is called upon to make an important contribution to the many-sided progress of the Romanian society -- means a unanimous recognition of your special skills in developing and coordinating these important fields of the socialist construction in our homeland and at the same time, it is a guarantee that, under your leadership and recommendation and activity, these fields will more markedly progress in future.

Serving with self-denial the interests of the country, of the Romanian people, and the cause of socialism on Romanian soil, you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, have also assertd yourself as a tireless promoter of the most thrifty ideals of understanding, cooperation, and peace among nations and as a brilliant militant for defending the fundamental rights of the nations and of the peoples to life, to a free and dignified existence, to independence, sovereignty, and peace.

Together with our entire nation, we highly appreciate your contribution to promoting our party and state policy of peace and cooperation and to strengthening Romania's friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, with developing and non-aligned countries, and with all the countries of the world, regardless of their social system.

Under the current international circumstances, when a great international tension has been registered and when people's life, freedom, and independence and the entire world's peace and quiet are increasingly endangered, the appeals you launched -- as a scientist -- to do everything possible to eliminate the threat of war and to make science and technology serve exclusively peace and people's well-being and not war and destruction, find great response among the scientists and men of culture in our homeland and worldwide as well.

At this anniversary, we would like to assure you, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, that we are firmly determined to follow the brilliant example you set to the Communists and to our whole nation to work with self-denial, communist responsibility, and revolutionary spirit in order to implement the historical objectives set forth by the 13th RCP Congress and the guidelines and recommendations of the party secretary general to ensure Romania's passage to a new and superior stage of development and continuously assert our free, independent, and sovereign homeland among the nations of the world.

We pledge to strive with all our energy to continuously increase the leading role of the party, to further strengthen the people's unity around our glorious Communist Party and its secretary general, and to do everyting to implement the great ideals of socialism and communism on Romanian soil, ideals within you, together with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the most important son of the Romanian people, outstanding revolutionary, ardent patriot, and illustratious personality of our times, have served and are serving with boldness, devotion, and high responsibility to fulfill the new, historical destiny of our nation.

At this time of celebration, we voice the thoughts and feelings of all our party, of the Communists, and of all working people in Romania, and we extend you heartfelt wishes for a long and happy life, for newer and newer successes in all the activity you carry out in the leadership of our party and state for the progress and well-being of the Romanian people and for the continuous flourishing of our socialist homeland.

We extend to you, from the bottom of our hearts and with high feelings of respect and comradely affection, the traditional wishes for many happy returns!

The Political Executive Committee of the RCP Central Committee

CEAUSESCU CONGRATUATES REELECTED INDIAN CP CHIEF

AU090954 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 7 Jan 86 ;0 5

[Text] To Comrade E. M.S. Namboodiripad, general secretary of the Communist Party of India-Marxist.

On your reelection as general secretary of the Communist Party of India-Marxist; I want to extend warm congratulations and best wishes of success in the highly responsible activity entrusted to you by the party.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general

REAGAN 'EVIDENTLY SURPRISED' BY GORBACHEV OFFER

LD160517 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0445 GMT 16 Jan 86

["Washington -- First Reactions to Gorbachev Proposal" -- TANJUG headline]

[Text] Washington, Jan 16 (TANJUG) -- Evidently surprised by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev's latest proposal that the two super powers rid the world of nuclear weapons by the end of the century, President Reagan said he welcomes the initiative as a helpful further step in the disarmament process.

Saying that Gorbachev's proposal, announced a day before the Geneva arms control talks resumed, appeared to be constructive, Reagan said Washington and the Western allies would study the Soviet leaders's initiatives carefully.

Meanwhile, sources in the Reagan administration and Congress say that there is nothing particularly new in Gorbachev's proposal. They see it as a propaganda move and say that Gorbachev has shown quite some skill in this field.

However, there are other views among politicians and observers here. Some consider that Gorbachev's proposal, along with the climate of relaxation following Geneva, gives rise to optimism that progress can be made in nuclear disarmament and that the deadlock in the process can be broken.

U.S. LIBYA SANCTIONS WILL BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE

AU142201 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Jan 86 p 13

[Vlado Teslic "The Week in the World" column: "Neither Sanctions nor Terrorism"]

[Text] The United States has introduced economic sanctions against Libya (something that it doggedly refuses to do when the question of South Africa is posed) wishing that all other countries, primarily its allies in Europe, should follow it -- allegedly in the interest of a more efficient struggle against terrorism. When the dust settles over this great political maneuver, which is also accompanied by tremendous and merciless propaganda, it will be shown that the world as a whole, including the U.S. allies, equally dislikes both terrorism and sanctions.

Will such a mood strengthen the course of seeking a political solution to the Middle East crisis in which terrorism -- not only the terrorism of extreme Palestinian factions but also of the Israeli state -- finds a fertile ground? Or will it, as is more likely, provoke "reprisals" -- no less terrorist than those that Libya and the Palestinians are accused of -- from the U.S. and Israeli governments?

In any case, there is no reason to feel any relief because Washington -- at least for the time being -- has chosen sanctions instead of military intervention, because the tension in the Mediterranean is acquiring dangerous proportions. After all, sanctions may be not a substitute for but an introduction to military intervention, something which Washington has not officially excluded either. What is at stake is not just a struggle against terrorism, which can be efficiently curbed only by using political and not military methods, but wider strategic interests of a superpower fighting for global supremacy.

The United States and Libya

It is difficult not to notice the dogged reiteration of U.S. economic sanctions and military threats against Libya after the revolution in that country, and after it turned to Soviet armaments and its own independent policies with which it acquired a significant role in the Arab and African world.

Great predicaments, even some dramatic dilemmas that President Carter used to have about Libya are known. All dilemmas seem to have been removed with the arrival of Reagan and his administration in the White House. An armed conflict that occurred near the Libyan coast at the end of 1981 was followed by the announcement of a trade blockade; that is, an embargo against the import of Libyan oil and a tremendous campaign against Colonel al-Qadhdhafi. In attempts to compromise and disqualify him politically, one usually attacked Al-Qadhdhafi not for terrorism, but as "a weapon" of Soviet policy in the Arab and African world.

During the past 5 years, the positions of Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and Libya have been strengthened in the African and Middle East region, something that could not be said for the positions of the United States. During the past 5 years, Libya also experienced failures in many confrontations and divisions in the Arab and African world, but it remained an unavoidable and increasingly influential factor in all processes of strengthening independence and liberation in the region and the continent. During that period, Libya also considerably intensified its economic connections with Western Europe to the benefit of both sides, something which made a U.S. blockade virtually worthless.

One could not say that Washington had a bed of roses in the Middle East and Africa during that time. The strategy of rallying the Arab world against the USSR -- relying in that strategy on Israel as a gendarme -- has undergone many failures. This has certainly been most clearly demonstrated in Lebanon. Washington can no longer influence the Iraqi-Iranian war, Syria, and the Soviet presence; and Sudan has ceased to be a U.S. military base. Even those Arab countries which Washington has traditionally relied upon most frequently put their national interests above U.S. interests.

It is clear that in these circumstances, U.S. domination in the Middle East, as well as its room to maneuver, are becoming increasingly smaller. Instead of reexamining the strategy of "deterring" the USSR and instead of seeking a just solution to the Middle East crisis along with returning their legal rights to the Palestinians, Americans seem to be tempted to strengthen their positions on the other side of the Mediterranean at the expense of other countries' independence. They can hardly preserve their positions in the Middle East in this way, apart from the fact that their choice of Libya as a victim brings them new complications.

Political Risks

The extreme U.S. attitude toward Libya simply cannot gain support from the world public, however popular that may be in America itself. And without support from the world public, one cannot carry out any global policies, and even less some political imprudence.

What is at stake, therefore, are not "big words and a small stick" to which Reagan has resorted. Because of this his critics, particularly the irreconcilable hawks, recall President Theodore Roosevelt's maxim from the times of U.S. military expansion -- a good policy for a great power is "to speak softly and carry a big stick."

Those times have passed, and an awareness of the limits of one's might has become a virtue of even the greatest powers. Is President Reagan, who would like to ensure at least the support of his allies before each new measure against Libya, also aware of that?

That support is missing so far, because of economic reasons -- the allies have rather good trade with Libya -- as well as for political ones, because they very reasonably conclude that sanctions would bring political risks with them: a conflict with the entire Arab world, and even possible tension with the USSR.

Is that not a risk for Washington, too? It certainly is not an economic risk, because the sanctions do not cost Americans anything since they have virtually no trade with Libya, but the political risk gains in topicality and harshness. It is not by chance that this time the whole of the Arab and Muslim world has stood behind Libya. This will certainly also influence changes in Libyan behavior in those spheres of support for extremist positions which are being most criticized.

MAMULA SPEECH AT ARMY DAY CELEBRATION

AU151302 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2424, 26 Dec 85 pp 1,3

[Excerpt] On the occasion of 22 December, Yugoslav People's Army Day, the SFRY Presidency headed by President Radovan Vlajkovic received a delegation of our Armed Forces headed by Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula, federal secretary for national defense. President Vlajkovic and Admiral Mamula spoke on the occasion.

After greeting the people present and congratulating them on the day, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula said the following:

"In the year when we mark the 44th anniversary of the Yugoslav People's Army and the 40th anniversary of our country's liberation and victory over fascism, members of our Armed Forces made a proper contribution to the celebrations by performing their tasks under conditions of the exceptionally complex military-political situation in the world and the difficult social circumstances in the country. I want to stress here that it was those very conditions that induced members of the Armed Forces to perform their social obligations and their basic military obligations with even more self-sacrifice and persistence to attain combat capability and strengthen the unity of their ranks, consistently following Comrade Tito's pledge that the Armed Forces must be the place where brotherhood and unity are created and must be the school of Yugoslav socialist patriotism."

We Are Resolute and Capable of Defending Peace on our Territory

"This year we will conclude the period of the 5-year plan, which is exceptionally important for the overall development of the Armed Forces, for all-people's defense, and social self-production. During this period we have maintained the continuity of the development of our Armed Forces and considerably strengthened our defense system. This has contributed to further strengthening the defense potential of our socialist self-managing nonaligned community, something that represents the main guarantee for peace and independence, for protecting the achievements of the revolution, and for the further development of socialism in Yugoslavia. Being aware of all the dangers of the difficult situation in which we find ourselves, we are resolute and able to defend peace on our territory and to contribute, together with the working people, to more quickly overcoming the difficulties in our internal social development."

"During the 4 and 1/2 decades of their development, our Armed Forces have grown into a modern force. We have successfully fulfilled all our main tasks, thanks, first and foremost, to the firm moral-political unity, high sense of responsibility, and applied efforts of members of the Armed Forces. We have significantly advanced the fire, maneuvering, and overall capability of the Armed Forces and have ensured a stable situation in our units and security on our borders. The military parade held this year and the technical review demonstrated a part of these capabilities as well as our country's possibilities for independently arming and equipping its Armed Forces. We consider the preservation of the ideological-political unity of the Army personnel on the basis of Tito's course and the LCY program and policy as being one of our espcially great successes.

"Thanks to the high moral-political unity and motivation of members of the Yugoslav People's Army, we are successfully resisting the pressures from external and internal enemies who continually and deliberately strive to weaken our unity and defense capability. Members of the Army support all measures of the state and party leadership aimed at ensuring the country's economic and political stabilization as quickly and effectively as possible. They constantly strive for a consistent implementation of these measures in their units and institutions.

"This year we have continued the process of organizational-formational perfecting which had been initiated in previous years. On this basis we have ensured a further growth of the Armed Forces' combat potential and capabilities in the spirit of the concept of all-people's defense and of requirements of warfare under contemporary conditions.

"We have made further steps in advancing combat training and education and have oriented ourselves in this respect toward an integral training of all factors of our defense and protection system.

"The arming and equipping of units with new types and quantities of weapons and military equipment have continued; some of our existing weapons systems have been modified and perfected. In this way, the overall potential of antiarmor struggle, air defense, and fire support has been increased. Several dozen new items of military technological equipment have been introduced in ground forces weapons. Among them I especially point out our new tank. In the Air Force and the air defense we have introduced new types of helicopters, air combat weapons, and reconnaissance and observation systems. Thus, the overall combat potential of our Air Force has been strengthened. The operational introduction of new landing and assault boats, patrol ships, anti-ship missile systems, and other combat installations and means in the naval forces has been continued. Thereby, the offensive and maneuvering capability and overall combat efficacy of our naval forces has been increased."

Assurance To Achieve Optimal Results With Available Resources

"The new combat means are mostly products of our n w production and technology. They are at the level of demands of contemporary warfare and of our specific concept and doctrine of the country's defense.

"The same attention has also been paid to the development of territorial defense, and primarily to further arming its components and especially the maneuverable and specialized units."

"The leadership and command system of the Armed Forces has continued to be examined and solutions have been sought which would modernize this important sector of the buildup of our defense system. However, you know to what an extent the country's material possibilities have affected the implementation of the medium-term and annual plans for the development of our Armed Forces. This will be the case in the 1986-90 period, something about which I spoke at length in the SFRY Assembly recently. There is no need for me to assure you that we will strive to achieve optimal results with the available resources and to maintain continuity in the development and modernization of our Armed Forces.

"The achieved results and the available potential make it possible to further strengthen the overall defense potential of the society. We are aware of the fact that the medium-term period which we are now entering, and especially its first years, too, will be exceptionally difficult. Everything possible will be done to ensure that even under the conditions of reduced material possibilities we will not lag behind our neighbors. The conditions in the world as a whole and in our own environment show that in the future, too, we must not lag behind. We must continue to strengthen our Armed Forces and the system of all-people's defense and social self-protection in order to be prepared for effectively responding to any possible provocation.

"Congratulating you once again on the day of 22 December, I emphasize that members of the Armed Forces have been making and continue to make efforts to prepare for the forthcoming 13th LCY Congress with the greatest possible results. They are ready to consistently implement its decisions, to ensure free and peaceful socialist self-managing development for our workers class, working people, and citizens, and to continue to do this on the basis of the work of Tito, whose ideas and instructions represent for us a lasting guide."

GENERAL BLAMES LCY LEADERSHIP FOR DISUNITY

AU151628 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 86 p 11

[R. Matovic report on interview given by Major General Mirko Mileusnic, chairman of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Air and Air Defense Forces, to BORBA -- date and place not given]

[Excerpt] "At the height of preparations for the 13th LCY Congress, the Communists in the Air and Air Defense Forces more and more loudly stress and support with sound arguments their demand for strengthening the revolutionary unity of our community on class foundations, for energetically overcoming the numerous subjective shortcomings, and for realizing in practice the LCY's leading role in our society. We are aware of the fact that we cannot and must not go to the 13th LCY Congress without achieving ideological-political unity on all the most important issues of our further development. The conviction is also maturing in the LCY itself that it is now high time for differentiation [difrencijacija] and responsibility on the basis of clear programs of development and that there can be no room for any rotten compromises."

This is what Major General Mirko Mileusnic, president of the Committee of the LCY Organization in the Air and Air Defense Forces, said at the beginning of the interview. There are many reasons for this interview, but the most important among them are the great tasks faced by Communists and other members of the Air and Air Defense Forces in the coming period. Among these tasks we point out the elections, the congresses....

Ideological Trends and Changes

[Matovic] The LCY Committee of the Air and Air Defense Forces which you head has appraised quite bitterly the ideological trends in our society....

[Mileusnic] Communists have good grounds to be concerned over the fact that it is difficult to move things from the "deadlock." It is possible to determine who advocates opposite positions, but this is being avoided because of opportunism. As members of the Yugoslav People's Army, we are not only concerned because of the economic problems, which are great, but also because of the ideological disunity in the society and in the LCY itself, especially in the leadership. Of course, matters must be considered dialectically: The economic and ideological issues cannot be analyzed separately from each other. Causes for concern are indecisiveness toward idling and disorder and the toleration of concrete cases of disintegrative attitudes and actions, of promotions of national economies without taking account of the common interests development, of monopolistic encapsulation...a defensive attitude is a cause for concern.

[Matovic] The question logically continues: How to move from the defensive to the offensive?

[Mileusnic] Our assessment is -- and the assessments by the broader LCY Organization in the Yugoslav People's Army and in the society are similar to ours -- that it is first and foremost the LCY leaderships, from the top to the LCY secretaries, that are to be blamed for the existence of this defensive attitude toward the attacks against all negative phenomena. It is clear to everyone: If the leaderships fail to act as ideological and action centers, and if meetings are not followed by real actions that change the state of affairs, then the LCY's role is diminished. We are forced to exhaust ourselves with problems and to struggle with ourselves when we should discuss new development programs that are the basis for all changes.

[Matovic] Elections and congresses provide an opportunity for changes....

[Mileusnic] We have in fact assessed that changes are needed. The LCY leaderships lead actions which strengthen our revolutionary unity and enrich the material basis of self-management and of all revolutionary changes. Our main criterion in the elections should be the readiness and capability of these people to change the situation. Differentiation is indispensable in this sphere. We have in the LCY a large number of capable people who appraise the present situation objectively and are ready to struggle for a Yugoslavia based on the principles of the Antifascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia. It seems that the comrades who are constantly repeating the slogans about the crisis have not given these people the opportunity to fight against the crisis. We resolutely demand that the LCY strive for and establish responsibility and conduct a creative offensive along the line of the long-term stabilization program, the LCY program, and Tito's work. This naturally also implies our obligations in this respect.

[Matovic] The real forces are capable and educated people who are ready to make changes....

[Mileusnic] Much of all this is needed for true revolutionary actions. First and foremost, we need knowledge, work, unity, experience, motives for creativity, and awareness of the relationship between the social and the personal.

Legal regulations do not stand in the way of changes, but certain forces -- obviously satisfied or overambitious -- are troubled by the creative applicaion of socialist legislation. Moral elements now take a back seat in our counry. Personal interests must be the motive for work, but in our country the social interest must also be implanted in the consciousness of every individual.

HIGH STATE OF MILITARY READINESS PRAISED

LD160014 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1440 GMT 15 Jan 86

[Text] Zagreb, 15 Jan (TANJUG) -- The moral and political state of affairs in the Yugoslav People's Army is stable; the combat readiness units, institutions, commands and staff is at its height. The Yugoslav People's Army is capable of carrying out its constitutional role fully, Lieutenant Colonel General Martin Spegelj, commandant of the Zagreb Military District, said, speaking to veterans of the national liberation war in Zagreb today.

Informing veterans about the topical [words indistinct] and political situation in the world and about our concept of all-people's defense and social self-protection, Spegelj pointed out that relations in the international community are still burdened with bloc competition. This is reflected in the continuing growth of expenditure on arms. Last year alone around $1 trillion was spent in the world.

Such a state of affairs particularly burdens underdeveloped and developing countries, which are compelled to set aside huge assets to defend their independence. Spegelj then stressed that our Armed Forces are continuously developing within the framework of society's realistic possibilities which enable further modern development of our concept of all people's defense and social self-protection. At the same time, the long-term program of economic stabilization is being implemented in the Yugoslav People's Army. More national and economic solutions are being sought, but only those which contribute to efforts toward strengthening the combat readiness of our Armed Forces.

The talks with veterans of the national liberation war were also attended by Major General Ilija Boric, commandant of the Territorial Defense of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and Ilija Bakovic, president of the Zagreb City Committee of the Federation of the Associations of Veterans of the National Liberation War.

DIZDAREVIC-SHEVARDNADZE TALKS STRESS RELATIONS

AU152027 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Jan 86 p 2

[Dragan Vukcevic commentary: Broadening of Cooperation"]

[Text] Yet another meeting of high Yugoslav and Soviet officials in the series of meetings in the last 2 years has demonstrated that relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union are good and stable. Following their extensive talks in Moscow in recent days, Raif Dizdarevic and Eduard Shevardnadze demonstrated this and assessed that cooperation between the two countries is rich and comprehensively developed.

Naturally, this can be supported with many facts. The foundations of the relations between the two countries lie in the 1955 Belgrade Declaration and the (1956) Moscow Statement, which means that these foundations represent full respect for the principles of independence, equality, noninterference, mutual interests....

Consideration of the differences resulting from the two countries' own roads of socialist development and their different international positions must definitely be added to this.

All these exceptionally important principles in the cooperation between the two friendly countries have lost the forms of more or less clear diplomatic emphasis of their importance, at times with a note of tactical actions, because socialist development has made it necessary to adopt a realistic approach to considering and respecting specific characteristics. [sentence as published]

For instance, it was mutally stated in Moscow yesterday that the present good relations between the two countries favor a realistic consideration of all forms of cooperation. This makes it possible to hold an open friendly dialogue even when, as is natural, there are differences in views. The quality of these relations lies in the fact that differences cannot represent (and practice has confirmed this) an obstacle to the broadening and advancement of cooperation.

The development of economic exchange between Yugoslavia and the USSR up to now, which amounted to a total of about $7 billion last year in both directions (and about the same annual figure has been true for the last 5 years), was favorably appraised. However, the forms of present cooperation do not completely satisfy either of the two sides. The long-term development prospects certainly lie in promoting the development of specialization and production cooperation in industry and other branches. The Soviet side has carefully followed and favorably appraised the achievments of several of our institutes, a fact which has opened up new opportunities for cooperation in science and technology.

Trade exchange has its own qualities, but under present technological conditions specialization and production cooperation are considered to be more stable forms of cooperation and mutual development. This is also revealed among other things by the Soviet interest in the experience of the Yugoslav agroindustrial complex. All this naturally is not free from the burden of a certain slowness on both sides, and this fact that both sides are undoubtedly interested in reviving the higher forms of their cooperation.

Last week a 3-year program of cultural cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR was signed in Moscow which provides for cooperation of 130 cultural institutions of both countries. Attempts have been made to ensure that the greatest cultural achievements of the Soviet people and the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia will be represented in this cooperation. But this will only be realized and achieved by changing the organizational routine that has been practiced so far. For instance, some of our well-known ensembles have performed in half-empty halls, and this did not happen because of any lack of interest on the part of the public.

Dizdarevic's talks with Shevardnadze and Gromyko in Moscow were also characterized by the exchange of views on the world's international relations. The Soviet side highly appraised the activities of socialist and nonaligned Yugoslavia "in favor of peace." The Yugoslav side stressed the world's expectations from the revival of the Geneva dialogue.

Many other arguments also attest to the good and stable relations between the two socialist countries.